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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF A BORDER SETTLEMENT:
LLOYDMINSTER, ALBERTA-SASKATCHEWAN



by
THEODORE LOU DYKSTRA

A THESIS
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend
to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled
The Political Geography of a Border Settlement: Lloydminster,
Alberta-Saskatchewan submitted by Theodore Lou Dykstra in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

There has been a paucity of published information relating to the impact of internal boundaries on the physical and human geography of border landscapes. This thesis shows that this neglect has not been entirely justified because internal boundaries have a definite effect on the functions of a border settlement.

The unique location of the City of Lloydminster astride the Alberta-Saskatchewan provincial boundary, provided the writer with an excellent case study for the evaluation of the impact of an internal boundary on a border landscape. Lloydminster was ideally suited for this type of study because of its compact size, easy accessibility, and its division into two almost equal parts.

An examination of the study area indicated that the impact of the boundary on the political, economic, and social functions of Lloydminster has resulted in significant variations in the land use patterns and political voting habits of the community.

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INTRODUCTION

THE AIM AND SCOPE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is based on the writer's conviction that "students of political geography must concern themselves increasingly with . . . the influence of political factors upon the cultural landscape."¹

Political geography as used in this context may be defined as:

that discipline which studies the impact of political phenomena² upon the physical and cultural landscape, and conversely, the impact of the physical and cultural landscape upon political phenomena.³

The primary purpose of this thesis is to analyze, interpret and evaluate the impact of a political boundary on the two sectors of the socio-political community it divides. It must therefore be considered as a thesis in political geography.⁴ A political boundary is not a natural but an artificial, political phenomenon. It is a finite line along which political entities meet,⁵ and is, therefore, one of the basic elements of a political area.

¹J.R.V. Prescott, The Geography of Frontiers and Boundaries, Chicago, 1967, p. 90.

²Political phenomena in this context are those phenomena which owe their existence to politics, are influenced by politics, or have influence on politics.

³This is the writer's own definition.

⁴Based on the definition presented above.

⁵Norman J.G. Pounds, Political Geography, New York, 1963, p. 57.

Purpose and Objectives

This thesis is intended to be a study in functional political geography. The basic purpose is to describe and explain the effects of a provincial boundary on the economic, social, and political functions of the City of Lloydminster and the resulting impact on both, the physical and human geography of the area. A secondary objective will be to also briefly discuss the reverse effects, that is the effects of the physical and sociopolitical aspects of the area on the nature and role of the boundary line.

An attempt will be made to evaluate the effect of the boundary on such factors as agricultural and industrial land-use patterns, urban and rural population distribution, the movement of people and goods, wholesale, retail and service trade, and local civic administration.

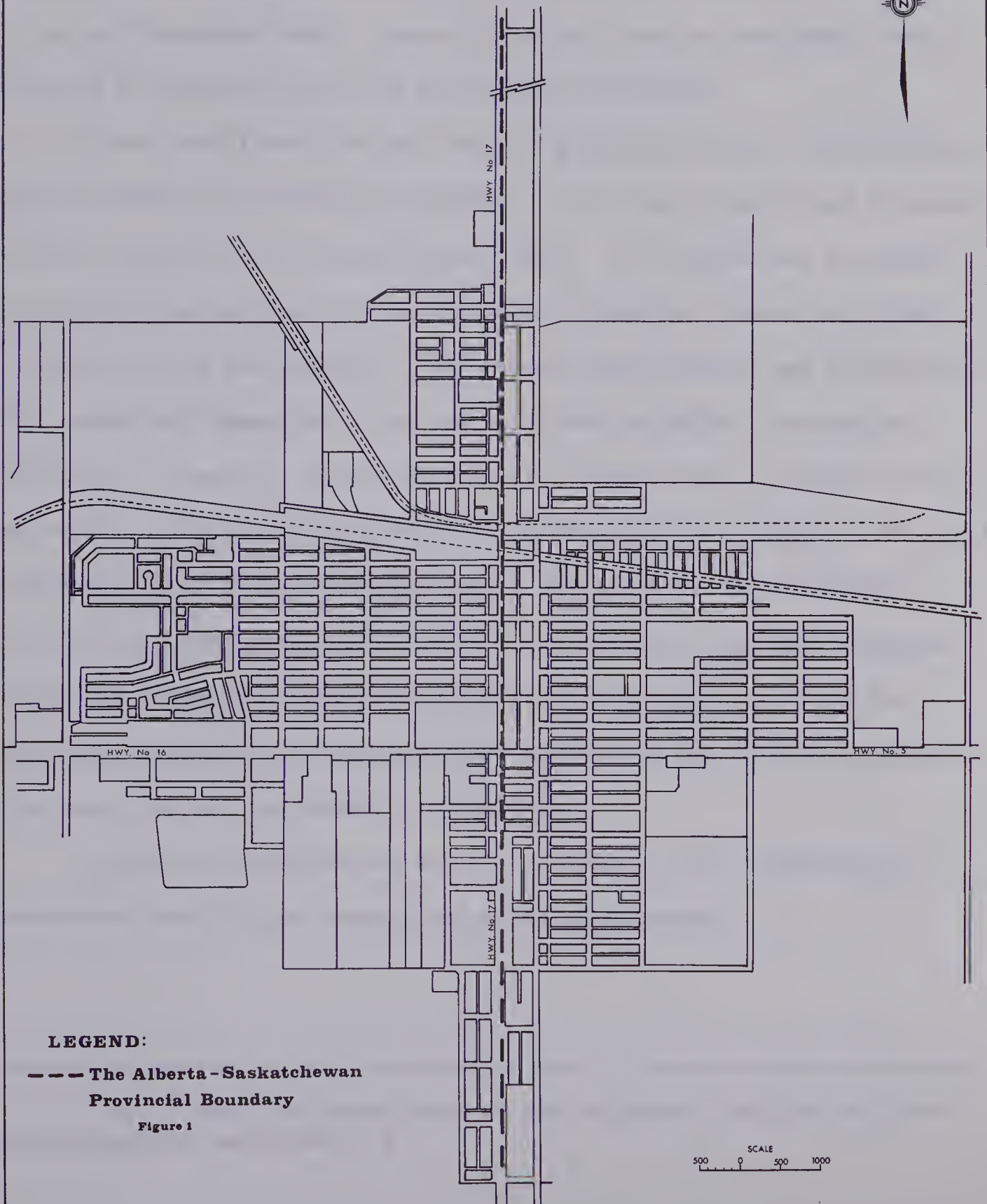
Although many cities in various parts of the world are located on provincial or state boundaries,⁶ Lloydminster is the only city in Western Canada which can claim this unique distinction. It was ideally suited for this type of analysis because of its compact size, easy accessibility, and its division into two almost equal sectors (Fig. 1).

Procedure

In order to analyze the impact of the boundary on the economic, social, and political functions of Lloydminster, a great deal of detailed information was required. Due to the paucity of published

⁶See Appendix VI for several examples.

The Provincial Boundary Relative to Lloydminster



research material, the bulk of the information was obtained through field surveys, primarily in the form of interviews with local civic officials and industrial and commercial representatives. Some library research however, was necessary, particularly with respect to Chapter I on the Conceptual Base, Chapter II on the Physical Geography, and a section in Chapter III on the historical background.

Four questionnaires were used to gather additional information, through direct interviewing procedure.⁷ One questionnaire was directed to the industrial and manufacturing firms. Its purpose was to obtain information concerning site requirements, location, resources, trade preferences and tax benefits. The second questionnaire was directed to the commercial operators. Its objective was to gather information relating to location, source of supplies, trade area, and effect of the sales tax. The third questionnaire was directed to a sample of 50 local citizens, 25 in each provincial sector of the city. It dealt with residential, employment, and shopping preferences. The last questionnaire was directed to the farmers of the study area. It tried to determine whether or not agricultural production and land use differed from one side of the boundary to the other.

Additional information was also obtained from topographical, geological and city map sheets and areal photographs.

⁷For a detailed description of the procedure involved with the questionnaires see Appendix I.

CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPTUAL BASE

Although most people consider political geography to be a relatively new discipline, it has long been recognized as an essential part of geography, tracing its roots back as far as the Classical Greek period.¹

Throughout its long history a substantial part of the literature in political geography has centered on the study of political boundaries and their associated regions. Julian Minghi attributes this to the fact, that:

political boundaries form the areal expression of the limits of jurisdiction and power of the system to which they belong [and therefore,] they are perhaps the most palpable political geographic phenomena, . . .²

In order to clarify some of the basic concepts underlying the nature and functions of political boundaries, a brief discussion of the changing concepts of boundary studies in relation to time and place, will precede the main body of the thesis.

¹C. Van Paassen, The Classical Tradition of Geography, Groningen, 1957, pp. 10-11.

²Julian V. Minghi, "Review Article - Boundary Studies in Political Geography". Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 53 (September, 1963), p. 407.

THE CHANGING CONCEPTS OF INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES

Ideas concerning boundaries have always been closely related to their geographical and historical milieu.³ Nowhere is this theme more clearly exemplified than in an article by S.B. Jones, which traces the process of boundary evolution from the primitive tribal frontier⁴ zone, through the Chinese and Roman Empires, the Medieval feudal system, the rise of the "nation-state" and two world wars to the present.⁵

A recent article by Minghi⁶ indicated that this approach is also implicit in many of the research publications available on boundary studies, and that this is perhaps the main reason why there exists such a variety of methodological approaches to the study of the nature and role of boundaries as spatial factors.

Ellen Semple, Ratzel's American "disciple," was among the first to develop a systematic boundary study. She asserted that boundaries were constantly subject to fluctuation and therefore seldom attained an established equilibrium. The most "scientific" boundaries, according to Semple, were uninhabitable areas, because they both partitioned and

³Stephen B. Jones, "Boundary Concepts in the Setting of Place and Time". Politics and Geographic Relationships: Readings on the Nature of Political Geography, W.A.D. Jackson (ed.), Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1964, p. 119.

⁴Frontier as used here may be defined as "a zone of transition from the sphere (ecumene) of one way of life to another, and representing forces which are neither fully assimilated to nor satisfied with either". Ladis D. Kristof, "The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries". Ibid., p. 137.

⁵Jones, op. cit., pp. 119-128.

⁶Minghi, op. cit., pp. 407-428.

protected.⁷ Semple's conception, that the boundary is a variable frontier zone open to pressures from both the physical and cultural environment, is, therefore, closely related to Ratzel's organic state theory, which states that:

the frontier is, as a peripheric organ of the state, the bearer of its growth and its security, conforming to all changes of the state organism.⁸

Much of the literature concerning boundaries during World War I centered on the discussion whether natural barriers such as mountain ranges, lakes, and deserts, were "good" boundaries, or artificial boundaries such as lines of latitude and longitude were "bad" boundaries from a military point of view.⁹ Unfortunately, these theories failed to consider technological advances such as the airplane and more recently the guided missile. Minghi also points out the true efficiency of a boundary, military or otherwise, is determined by the relationships between the two societies it separates, rather than by the actual nature of the line.¹⁰

The popular swing towards self-determination, advocated by President Wilson of the United States, was clearly reflected in many boundary settlements following the war. A shift in emphasis took place in boundary concepts from the physical features to cultural characteris-

⁷Ellen Churchill Semple, Influences of Geographic Environment, New York, 1911, pp. 204-216.

⁸F. Ratzel, Politische Geographie, Berlin, 1895, as cited by Jones, op. cit., p. 128.

⁹Minghi, op. cit., p. 408.

¹⁰Loc. cit.

tics. By 1919, nationality as an indication of ethnic self-determination had become the main criteria on which boundaries were drawn.¹¹

During the period between the two world wars two major developments in boundary concepts occurred. In Germany, Karl Haushofer integrated the theories of Ratzel, and Mackinder into the "pseudo-scientific" philosophy of "Geopolitik."¹² Haushofer defined the boundary as "a biological battlefield in the life of peoples." In reality however, this was a frontier concept, the boundary being but a truce line in the battlefield.¹³ At the same time geographers such as Boggs, Hartshorne, Lösch and Jones were placing an increasing emphasis on the functions which boundaries perform, rather than on the criteria by which they were established.¹⁴

¹¹Eric Fischer, "On Boundaries". World Politics, Vol. 1, (1948-49), p. 196. For two excellent examples see R. Hartshorne, "Geographic and Political Boundaries in Upper Silesia". Annals, Association of American Geographers, 23 (1933), pp. 194-228, and R. Hartshorne, "The Polish Corridor". Journal of Geography, 36 (1937), pp. 161-167. There were however, several examples where ethnic self-determination was not taken into consideration, for instance in the Austro-Italian Tyrol (Treaty of St. Germain 1919).

¹²See: Ratzel, op. cit.
H.J. Mackinder, "The Geographical Pivot of History". The Geographical Journal, 23 (April, 1904), pp. 421-437.
H.J. Mackinder, Democratic Ideals and Reality, New York, 1942, (2nd ed.), 219 pp.

¹³Jones, op. cit., p. 132.

¹⁴See: S.W. Boggs, Boundary Functions and the Principals of Boundary Making". Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 22 (March, 1932), pp. 48-49.

R. Hartshorne, "Suggestions on the Terminology of Political Boundaries". Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 26 (1936), pp. 56-67.

A. Lösch, The Economics of Location, New Haven, 1954, 520 pp.
S.B. Jones, Boundary Making: A Handbook for Statesmen, Treaty Editors and Boundary Commissions, Washington, D.C., 1945, 268 pp.

It should be remembered however, that while the criteria involved in boundary concepts have changed considerably throughout the course of history, states have continued to regard the location of the boundary line as fundamental to their territorial sovereignty and political security. This is clearly demonstrated by the settlement negotiations following World War II. Although numerous boundary changes were made which affected economic and industrial resources or specific population groups, the underlying cause of many of these changes was the factor of state security. Examples of these changes include the westward shift of Poland's western boundary to the Oder-Neisse line,¹⁵ the forced migration of minority groups from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and the Balkans.¹⁶ The changes along the boundary between Germany and the Benelux countries were minor and primarily economic in nature.¹⁷

Since the war several major changes have taken place in boundary development. Instances have occurred where economic criteria have been ignored. The partition of the Punjab region between India and Pakistan

¹⁵Elizabeth Wiskemann, Germany's Eastern Neighbors, Problems Relating to the Oder-Neisse Line and the Czech Frontier Regions, London, 1956, 309 pp.

¹⁶John Shute, "Czechoslovakia's Territorial and Population Changes". Economic Geography, Vol. 1 (January, 1948), pp. 35-44.
W.R. Mead, "Finnish Karelia: An International Borderland". Geographical Journal (March, 1952), pp. 40-57.

¹⁷L.M. Alexander, "Recent Changes in the Benelux-German Boundary". Geographical Review 1 (January, 1953), pp. 69-76.

A.V. Cukwarah, The Settlement of Boundary Disputes in International Law, Manchester, 1967, pp. 142-43.

in 1947, was based primarily on religious differences,¹⁸ and generally disregarded the technological and economic effects this division would have on the irrigation system based on the Indus River drainage system.¹⁹ Similarly the cease-fire line established in 1948 between Israel and her Arab neighbors has resulted in problems with respect to the use of the Jordan River for irrigation.²⁰

The ideological "Cold War," which has divided the world since the Second World War, has also made an impact on boundary concepts. The terms "Iron Curtain" and "Bamboo Curtain" have become synonyms for the ideological boundaries separating the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China from the "Free World." It has also been the main reason for the division of several states, notably Germany, Korea and Vietnam, into two ideological sectors. These de facto boundaries were established because of a conflict in political philosophies, and only time will show whether or not they will attain permanency.

Another aspect which has influenced boundary development since the last world war is the concept of supranationalism. The importance of the international boundary functions of states within such organizations as the European Economic Community has decreased significantly with changes

¹⁸Boundaries based on religious differences have occurred before. See: C.L. Mowat, Britain Between the Wars, 1918-1940, Chicago, 1955, Section on Ireland, pp. 57-108.

¹⁹Ali Tayyeb, Pakistan - A Political Geography, London, 1966, p. 200. See also East-West Bengal Boundary Alignment Agreement (1952-1954), United Nations Treaty Series, Vol. 207 (1955), pp. 161-172.

²⁰Moshe Brawer, "The Geographical Background of the Jordan Water Dispute". in Essays in Political Geography, C.A. Fisher (ed.), London, 1968, pp. 225-242.

in tariff structures and inter-state flows of labor and capital.²¹ It is difficult however to determine at the moment whether or not these international boundaries will lose all their functions as a result of such organizations.

INTERNAL BOUNDARY STUDIES

It is unfortunate that political geographers have concentrated almost exclusively on international boundaries, thereby seriously neglecting internal boundaries,²² even though a close similarity of subject and method exists between both types of boundary study.

Although Boggs criticized this over-emphasis of international boundaries as early as 1932,²³ geographers have tended to ignore his advice until recently. This, as Minghi points out, is unfortunate, for:

Despite the concentration of effort at the international level, it must be remembered that the pattern of spatial distribution of phenomena can be affected by boundaries separating political units at any level.²⁴

Perhaps the reason why international boundaries receive more attention is because they produce a more pronounced landscape variation,

²¹J.W. House, "A Local Perspective on Boundaries and the Frontier Zone: Two Examples from the European Economic Community". in Essays in Political Geography, C.A. Fisher, ed., op. cit., pp. 340-344.

²²Internal boundaries in this context refer to all those boundaries which do not separate two distinctly independent sovereign states.

²³S. Whittemore Boggs, "Boundary Functions and the Principles of Boundary Making". Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 22 (March, 1932), pp. 48-49.

²⁴Minghi, op. cit., p. 424.

while the differences associated with them appear to be more striking than those associated with internal boundaries.²⁵ However, even though the influence of internal boundaries on the border landscape may not be as spectacular as that of international boundaries, some studies have shown that they do influence the cultural landscape in various ways.

While most internal boundary studies are concerned primarily with the historical aspects of boundary evolution,²⁶ or the legal aspects of boundary disputes,²⁷ some studies do have particular relevance to landscape analysis.

Among these is a study by E.L. Ullman concerning the eastern sector of the Rhode Island-Massachusetts boundary.²⁸ In it he describes and analyzes many of the contrasts which exist between the opposing sides of the border in terms of the effect of the boundary. He shows that the differential in tax structure between the two states has resulted in greater industrial development in Rhode Island which gave greater tax concessions. At the same time however, the workers employed in these industries lived primarily in Massachusetts where they could enjoy superior social and cultural amenities.

²⁵J.R.V. Prescott, The Geography of Frontiers and Boundaries, Chicago, 1967, p. 94.

²⁶See: Norman L. Nicholson, The Boundaries of Canada, Its Provinces and Territories, Geographical Branch, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Ottawa, 1964, 142 pp.

²⁷See: I. Bowman, "An American Boundary Dispute: Decision of the Supreme Court of the United States With Respect to the Texas-Oklahoma Boundary". Geographical Review, Vol. 13 (1923), pp. 161-189.

²⁸E.L. Ullman, "The Eastern Rhode Island-Massachusetts Boundary Zone". Geographical Review, Vol. 29 (1939), pp. 291-302.

A somewhat similar study by Rose dealt with the eastern sector of the Queensland-New South Wales boundary.²⁹ It indicated that certain landscape differences, which could not be attributed to environmental factors, have developed since the boundary was delimited. Following World War I, the Queensland government instituted a deliberate settlement policy, which, encouraged by efficient transportation and marketing services, led to an intensive orchard industry. In New South Wales, which had no such settlement policy, ranching remains the staple industry.

Even more important than these two studies is the present trend in boundary research which attempts to express the barrier effects of boundaries for various types of interaction in quantitative terms. Among the most significant studies of this nature are those by Lösch,³⁰ Mackay,³¹ and Reynolds and McNulty.³² Lösch showed that the presence of the Mexico-United States Boundary exerted a strong influence on the spatial extent of the financial sphere of El Paso, Texas. Mackay, analyzed the relative barrier effect of the Ontario-Quebec provincial

²⁹A.J. Rose, "The Border Zone Between Queensland and New South Wales". As cited by Prescott, op. cit., p. 100.

³⁰August Lösch, The Economics of Location, New Haven, 1954, p. 448.

³¹J. Ross Mackay, "The Interactance Hypothesis and Boundaries in Canada". Canadian Geographer, No. 11, (1958), pp. 1-8.

³²D.R. Reynolds and M.L. McNulty, "Political Boundaries, Barrier Effects, and Space Perception," unpublished paper presented to the Sixty-Third Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, St. Louis, Mo.: April 11-14, 1967, 17 pp. Although the studies by Lösch and Reynolds and McNulty are mainly concerned with international boundaries, their theories may also be applied to internal boundary studies.

boundary with respect to long distance telephone interactions. The paper by Reynolds and McNulty is primarily a review of the research concerned with the barrier effects of political boundaries and space perception. It attempts to encourage geographers interested in patterns of human spatial behavior to be cognizant of boundaries as elements of the subjective milieu.

THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF URBAN AREAS

Since this thesis is primarily concerned with the effects of a political boundary on the functions of an urban area, it would be appropriate to briefly discuss research dealing with the political geography of urban areas. This is another aspect of political geography which has been neglected in the past. Very few papers on the political geography of urban areas have been published, and most have appeared only quite recently.

In the United States one of the first articles in this field was the paper by Nelson in which he tries to determine to what extent the local municipal boundaries of the Vernon area of California are reflected in the urban land-use pattern.³³ Another paper, by Proudfoot, discusses the political fragmentation of a large urban agglomeration, in this case Chicago.³⁴ A similar study by Kasperson,³⁵ a well known

³³Howard J. Nelson, "The Vernon Area, California: A Study of the Political Factor in Urban Geography". Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 42 (1952), pp. 177-191.

³⁴Malcolm J. Proudfoot, "Chicago's Fragmented Political Structure". Geographical Review, Vol. 47 (1957), pp. 106-117.

³⁵R.E. Kasperson, "Toward a Geography of Urban Politics: Chicago, A Case Study". Economic Geography, Vol. 41 (1965), pp. 95-107.

political geographer, also on Chicago, attempts to show that there are important spatial considerations which influence political decision-making and shape public policy. Finally, two well-known urban geographers, R.E. Murphy³⁶ and Jean Gottmann,³⁷ have included sections on the effects of political factors on urban development in two of their recent publications.

In Britain most of the research has been devoted to the study of regionalism in the hope of finding a solution to the complex and out-dated local government structure.³⁸ Since the Fabian Society advocated the comprehensive reform of local government along regional lines, many papers, including several by geographers, have been written on the problem. The majority of these papers however, have concentrated on the city-region concept. Included in these are the studies by Gilbert,³⁹ dealing with the reorganization of existing local government boundaries to improve the local economy and increase administrative efficiency. A study by Fawcett advocated the division of England into twelve provinces, which would form more "natural" units of government than the county system. Each province would be governed by its own parliament

³⁶R.E. Murphy, The American City, An Urban Geography, New York, 1966, pp. 413-433.

³⁷Jean Gottmann, Megalopolis: The Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States, Cambridge, Mass., 1965, pp. 741-746.

³⁸Brian C. Smith, Regionalism in England 1: Regional Institutions - A Guide, London, 1964, pp. 1-102.

Brian C. Smith, Regionalism in England 2: Its Nature and Purpose 1905-1965, London, 1965, pp. 1-143.

³⁹E.W. Gilbert, "Practical Regionalism in England and Wales". Geographical Journal, Vol. 94 (July, 1939), pp. 29-44.

E.W. Gilbert, "The Boundaries of Local Government Areas". Geographical Journal, Vol. III (April-June, 1948), pp. 172-206.

similar in structure to those of Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales.⁴⁰ Dickinson in his study of regions expressed the region in terms of the homogeneity of an area, which, when defined, should form the basis of administration and government.⁴¹ In establishing a region one must be concerned with:

the natural fabric of community-interests upon which the delimitation of new local government and major federal units of intermediate government must be based.⁴²

Recent research has been concerned with the reorganization of local government in the various conurbations.⁴³ In 1948 Amies recommended that burden payments between local authorities should be abolished at the end of the 1947-48 year. He stated that since the primary purpose of boundary changes was to create more effective and financially viable administrative units it would be inefficient to subject such new areas to heavy claims for compensation.⁴⁴ Local government structure in both England and Wales is presently being reviewed by two Local Government Commissions.⁴⁵ These Commissions however, have no power to change the

⁴⁰C.B. Fawcett, "Natural Divisions of England". Geographical Journal, Vol. 49 (1917), pp. 124-41.

C.B. Fawcett, The Provinces of England, London, (New ed.), 1960.

⁴¹R.E. Dickinson, City Region and Regionalism, London, 1947, p. 3.

⁴²Ibid., p. 7.

⁴³A conurbation may be defined as a number of neighbouring local authority areas covering a continuously built-up area, and built-up areas separated by narrow strips of rural land from the main built-up area but strongly related to it because of employment, shopping, higher educational and recreational attachments. Smith, Ibid., p. 88.

⁴⁴F.A. Amies, The Local Government Act 1948, London, 1948, p. 69.

⁴⁵Smith, op. cit., p. 17 and 27.

local government structure outside of the larger conurbations such as Tyneside, Merseyside and the West Midlands. They can recommend the formation of "continuous counties" (counties in which there are no county boroughs) and the redistribution of functions between local authorities. Only once however--for Tyneside--has the Commission employed this concept.⁴⁶ Additional studies have been carried out by other government departments. An example of this would be The South East Study, which found that the resident population of the London conurbation has declined because many families have moved into the ring around London.⁴⁷ Commuting has increased and it is estimated that by 1981 about 400,000 London families will have to find homes outside the conurbation.⁴⁸ This has led to the conclusion that the conurbation is no longer a concept on which local government reform should be based. Instead the emphasis should be placed on the urban-region, an area which includes within its administrative boundary not only the conurbation but the surrounding localities which are linked to it by the prevailing communications network, and which are served by its employment, commercial, recreational and educational facilities.⁴⁹

It is hoped that this study, which is concerned with the spatial relationships resulting from the division of the City of Lloydminster by

⁴⁶Loc. cit.

⁴⁷The South East Study 1961-1981, Ministry of Housing and Local Government, London, 1964, pp. 29-32.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 98.

⁴⁹Smith, op. cit., p. 90.

the Alberta-Saskatchewan provincial boundary, will be a useful contribution to the growing field of literature in political geography dealing with internal boundaries and urban areas.

BOUNDARY CLASSIFICATIONS

All existing boundaries may be categorized in one or more of the following classifications.

The oldest classification, and one which is still used at times today, is the natural vs. the artificial division. The concept of natural boundaries may be traced back to the Age of Reason⁵⁰ and is based on the theory that nature has prescribed limites to human society and has expressed these limits in the features of the natural landscape.⁵¹ Natural boundaries, therefore, are those physical features of the landscape such as mountain ranges, watersheds, rivers and deserts, which are used by man to delimit the edge of his territory. Artificial boundaries do not follow natural features of the landscape but are allocated to the landscape by man. It is important to emphasize, however, that in the final analysis all boundaries are artificial, in that they originate in human decision, sometimes in conformity with the physical landscape, but at other times in complete disregard of it.⁵²

A much more comprehensive classification, based on four major divisions, physical, geometrical, anthropogeographical, and complex,

⁵⁰Jones, op. cit., pp. 126-127.

⁵¹Pounds, op. cit., p. 79.

⁵²Nicholson, op. cit., p. 121.

was proposed by Boggs in his study of International Boundaries.⁵³

Physical boundaries are those which follow some feature of the physical landscape; geometrical boundaries are those which follow straight lines, arcs of circles, and others which disregard the physical geography and topography; anthropogeographical boundaries are those related to the human occupancy of the land; and complex boundaries are those which have been adjusted to a multiplicity of factors.

The third classification, proposed by Hartshorne in 1936, advocated a boundary classification based on the relationship between boundaries and the human occupancy at the time of their establishment.⁵⁴ Thus a pioneer boundary is one which precedes all settlement and human development of the area; an antecedent boundary is one which precedes the development of most of the features of the cultural landscape; a subsequent boundary is one which was drawn after the cultural landscape had been established, and generally conforms to the major and minor natural and cultural divisions; a superimposed boundary is one which was drawn after the establishment of the cultural landscape but which does not conform to the natural and cultural divisions; and consequent boundaries are those which were established as a result of the presence of natural physical features such as mountain ranges.

⁵³S.W. Boggs, International Boundaries, A Study of Boundary Functions and Problems, New York, 1940, p. 25.

⁵⁴R. Hartshorne, "Suggestions on the Terminology of Political Boundaries". Annals, Association of American Geographers, 26 (1936), pp. 56-57.

SUMMARY

This discussion has attempted to emphasize four aspects of boundary studies. It briefly describes some of the concepts underlying the nature and role of international political boundaries, especially their close relationship to the historical and geographical milieu. It reveals the gradual shift in interest, from concepts based on the nature of the boundary location toward more function-oriented concepts.

The section on internal boundaries emphasizes the lack of published research articles dealing with this aspect of political geography, a situation also found in the field of urban political geography. But, while political geographers have neglected both these fields of study in the past, recent publications seem to indicate an increasing interest in both areas.

Thirdly, it traces the development of boundary classifications from the artificial vs. natural categories, through more comprehensive classifications describing boundary types as physical, geometric, anthropogeographic, and complex, to Hartshorne's functional classification relating boundaries to the degree of human occupance at the time of their establishments.

Finally, throughout this process of boundary evolution, an increasing awareness seems to have developed that the boundary's functions are reflected by the similarities and differences of the socio-political communities it divides. It is this concept which the scope of this study will endeavor to convey.

CHAPTER II

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

In order to determine whether the agricultural and industrial land-use patterns in the Lloydminster area are influenced by factors stemming from the existence of the provincial boundary, or from the physical characteristics of the study area, it is necessary to briefly discuss some aspects of the physical geography of the study area.

Location and Demarcation of the Study Area

The City of Lloydminster is located astride the Fourth Meridian ($110^{\circ} 00'$ West Longitude) at $53^{\circ} 17'$ North Latitude (Fig. 2).¹ The study area for this thesis consists of that area which extends eight miles west and eight and one-tenth mile east of the Fourth Meridian, and six miles north and south of Highways 16 and 5. The entire study area is approximately 193.20 square miles, of which 96 square miles are in Alberta (Fig. 3).

Landforms and Topographic Features

The Lloydminster area is located within an area of local landforms called the Paradise Hill-Lloydminster Upland.² The topography of the study area consists primarily of a level to gently rolling

¹Survey of Lloydminster, Department of Industry and Development, Edmonton, 1963, p. 1.

²J. Mitchell, et. al., Soil Survey of Saskatchewan, Report No. 13, University of Saskatchewan, Regina, 1950, p. 13.

LLOYDMINSTER-LOCATION

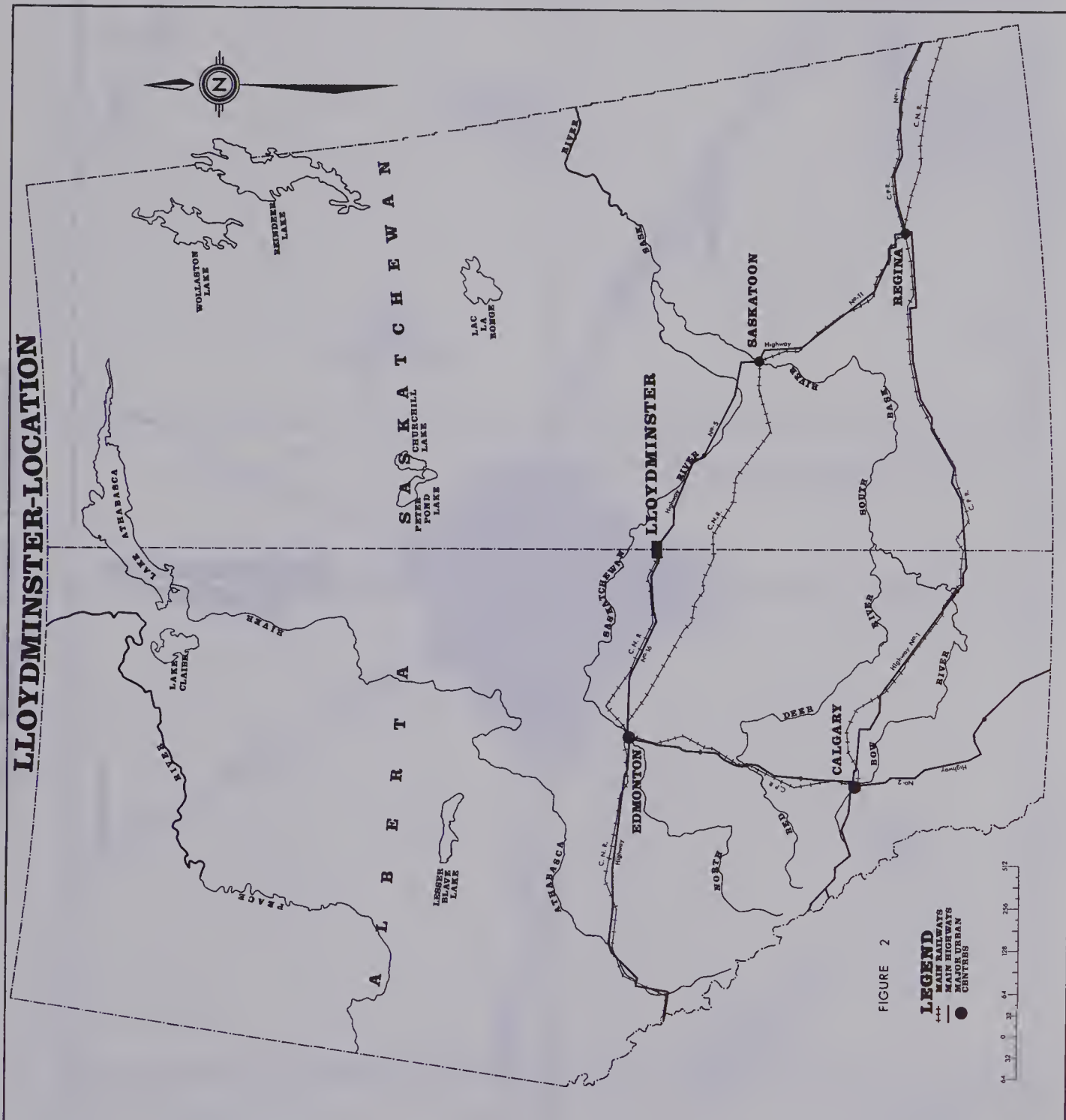
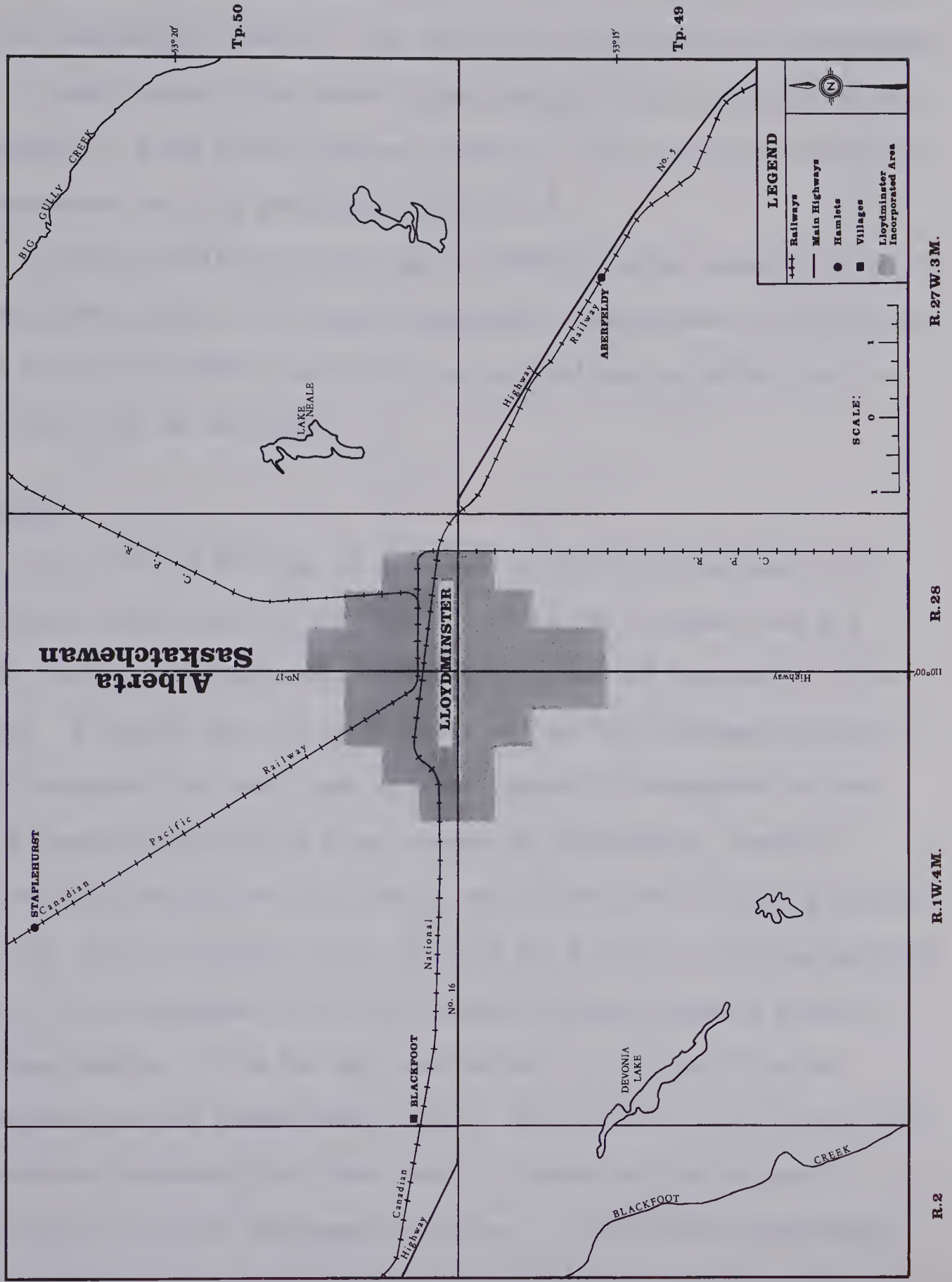


FIGURE 2

The Study Area Delimited

Figure 3



landscape, with scattered areas of greater local relief, particularly in the southwestern section. The elevation conforms with the prevailing west to east slope of the Great Plains, ranging from 2,300 feet in the southwest to 2,000 feet in the east (Fig. 4). The official altitude of Lloydminster is 2,123 feet above sea level.³

While the Alberta sector has a somewhat higher elevation than the Saskatchewan sector, the overall topographic differences are slight and have had little effect upon either the agricultural or urban land use on either side of the border.

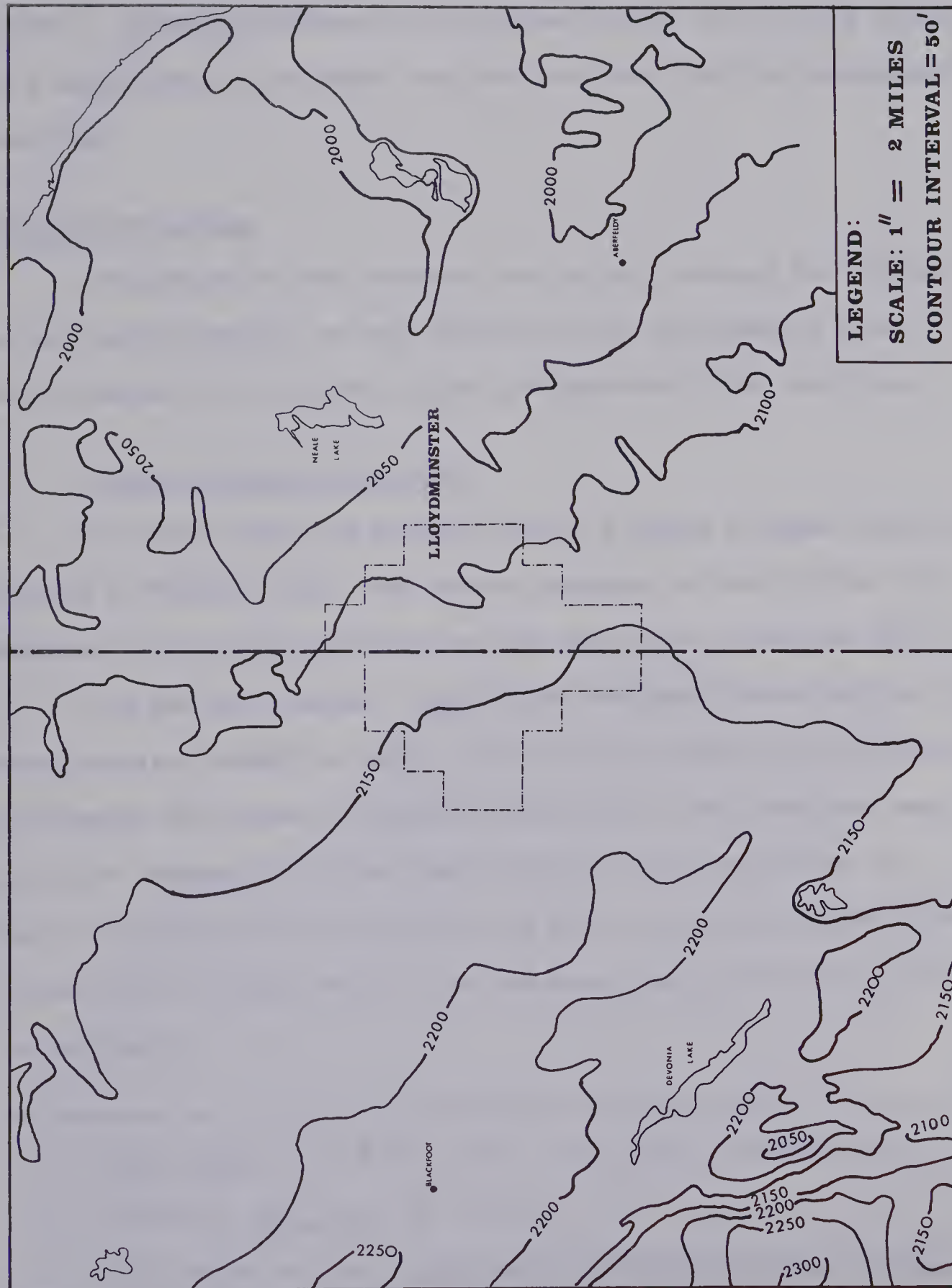
Drainage

The surface drainage of the study area consists primarily of temporary streams such as Blackfoot Creek in the southwest and Big Gully Creek in the northeast, with the main run-off draining into the latter. Although both the groundwater and surface drainage conditions vary throughout the study area they are generally considered as adequate, except for the flat areas bordering depressions. However, because both surface and groundwater drain from areas of high elevation to areas of low elevation, that is, from the Alberta to the Saskatchewan side of the study area, the latter sector has experienced a greater drainage problem. This has had some effect on the urban land use development on the Saskatchewan side of the boundary. A few industrial respondents indicated that they chose to locate in Alberta partly because of the better drainage conditions.⁴ The drainage problem has

³Survey of Lloydminster, op. cit., p. 1.

⁴Pers. Comm. with various industrial people.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE STUDY AREA



Source: Alberta Topographic Map Sheet 73 E/8 East
 Saskatchewan Topographic Map Sheet 73 F/5 West

Fig. 4

also slowed down road paving programs in the Saskatchewan sector to some extent.⁵ Generally however, this problem has not been serious enough to be a major handicap to either the urban or rural land use development of the area.

Sub-surface Geology

The purpose of this section is to briefly discuss the influence of sub-surface geology on such factors as soil development, ground-water aquifers, and oil and natural gas deposits of the study area.

Upper Cretaceous Formations.

The study area lies entirely within a region of Upper Cretaceous bedrock of Mesozoic age. This bedrock consists of two distinct formations, the Lea Park formation and the Belly River formation (Fig. 5).

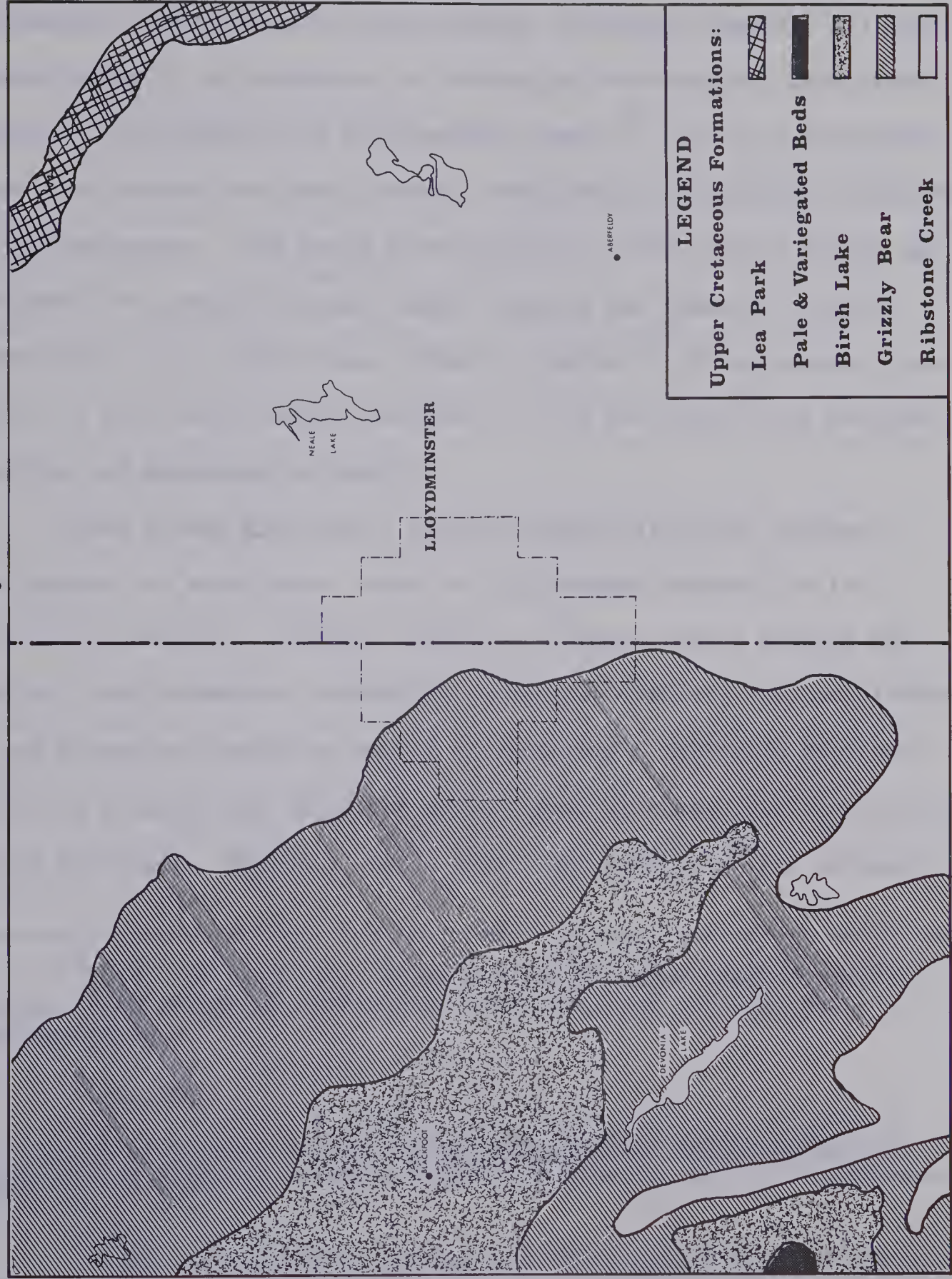
The Lea Park bedrock, found in the northeast corner of the study area, consists chiefly of grey, blue and black shales of marine origin interbedded with bands of ironstone nodules and some sandstone beds. The clays derived from these shales contain a high percentage of bentonite (better known as gumbo), and slake easily when moist.⁶ The permeability of these soils is low and water bearing beds are almost non-existent.⁷

⁵Pers. Comm. with W.M. Cardiff, City Clerk, Lloydminster.

⁶Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 214-215.

⁷F.A. Wyatt, et. al., Soil Survey of Wainwright and Vermilion Sheets, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1944, p. 113.

Geology of the Study Area



SCALE: 1" = 2 MILES

Source: Geological Survey of Canada, Dept. of Mines & Technical Surveys

Fig. 5

The remainder of the study area is underlain by the Belly River formation. This bedrock, which consists of several members,⁸ is composed primarily of sandstones of non-marine, brackish and fresh water origins, interbedded with hard nodular lenses.⁹ The soils developed over this bedrock are fairly sandy, having been influenced by the underlying sandstones. The Belly River bedrock is sufficiently porous and permeable to contain adequate water supplies for domestic, stock, municipal, and, in some cases industrial needs.¹⁰ Unfortunately, the water is very hard, ranging between 50 to 90 ppm. (parts per million) calcium and magnesium carbonate.¹¹

Even though the overall bedrock pattern is fairly uniform throughout the study area, there are differences between the two provincial sectors. The most important of these occurs between the Grizzly Bear formation, consisting primarily of shale, and the Ribstone Creek formation consisting mainly of sandstone. The soils developed over the Grizzly Bear shale are not as sandy as those over the Ribstone Creek sandstone. Secondly, since shales are generally less permeable

⁸Ibid., pp. 112-114. These are the Ribstone Creek formation, Grizzly Bear formation, Birch Lake formation, and the Pale and Variegated Beds.

⁹Loc. cit.

¹⁰E. Gordon Le Breton, Groundwater Geology and Hydrology of East-Central Alberta, Research Council of Alberta, Bull. 13, Edmonton, 1963, pp. 12-13.

¹¹Idem., "Groundwater Geology and Hydrology of the Lloydminster Area, Alberta". Early Contributions to the Groundwater Hydrology of Alberta, R.N. Farvolden, et. al., Research Council of Alberta, Bull. 12, Edmonton, 1963, p. 34.

to groundwater, the Ribstone Creek sediments provide a greater groundwater potential than do the Grizzly Bear sediments.¹²

Lower Cretaceous Bedrock.

The Lower Cretaceous horizon, averaging about 500 feet thick, underlies the entire study area at a depth of about 1,700 feet.¹³ These sediments are of great economic significance as they contain almost all the oil and natural gas deposits in the Lloydminster area (Fig. 6).

The location of these oil and gas pools are closely related to the palaeogeography of the Lower Cretaceous period, particularly the stratigraphy and structure.¹⁴ The greatest concentration of oil and gas deposits are found in the predominantly non-marine deltaic sediments known as the Mannville formation.¹⁵

The natural gas pools are located on a major terrace structure in the upper horizon of the Mannville sediments known as the Colony Zone.¹⁶ The majority of the commercial oil deposits are located in the porous marine sands of the middle horizon of the Mannville formation known as the Sparky Zone.¹⁷

¹²Ibid., pp. 26-32.

¹³Mitchell, op. cit., p. 230.

¹⁴R.T.D. Wickenden, The Lower Cretaceous of the Lloydminster Oil and Gas Area, Alberta and Saskatchewan, Department of Mines and Resources, Ottawa, 1948, p. 1.

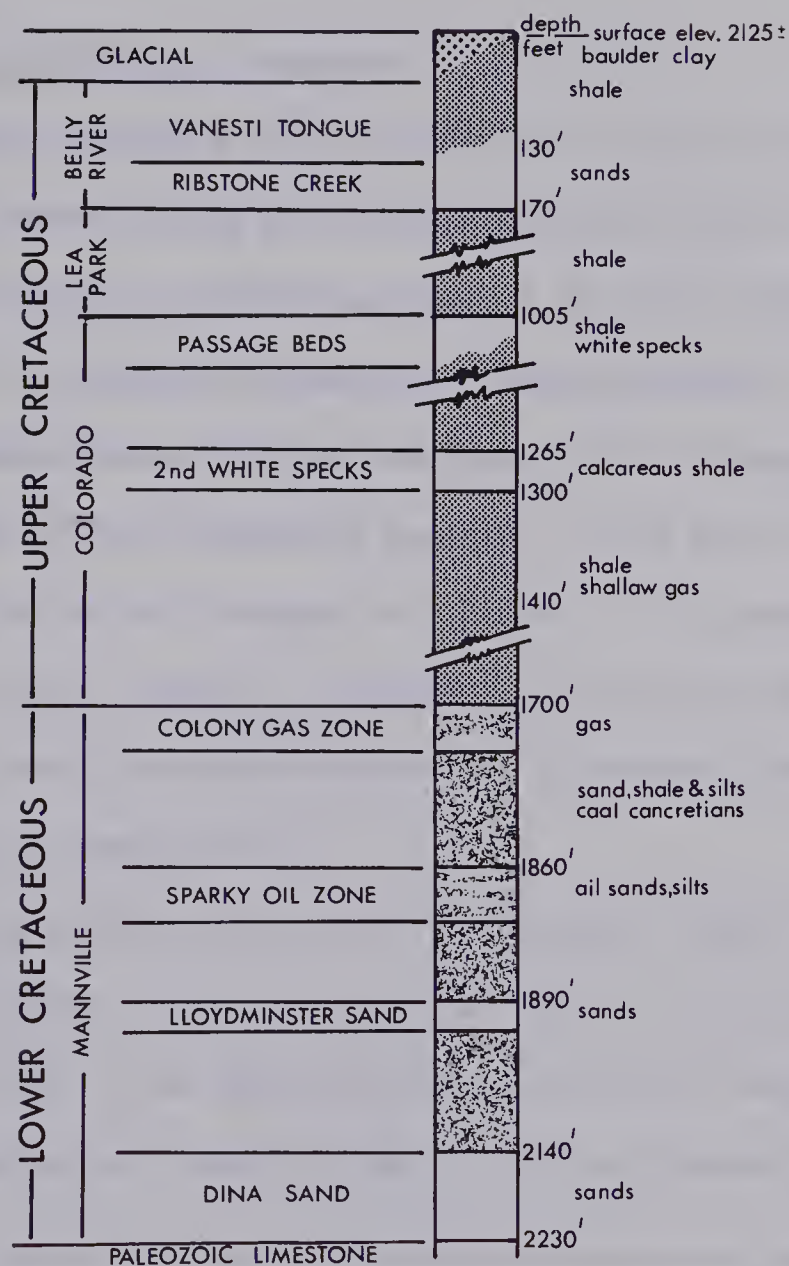
¹⁵Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁶Mitchell, op. cit., p. 230.

¹⁷Loc. cit.

Figure 6

GRAPHIC LOG LLOYDMINSTER GAS & OIL FIELD



LEGEND

- sands
- shale
- sand shale

Source: Saskatchewan Soil Survey.
Report No. 13, 1950, p. 229

Both, the oil and the gas fields, are almost equally divided by the provincial boundary, and their location has not been the cause of any significant differences in the industrial land use pattern on either side of the boundary.

Glacial Geology and Surficial Deposits

The surficial deposits of the study area consist almost entirely of glacial drift formed during the Pleistocene era by the last of the Keewatin glaciers known as the Coteau Glacier.¹⁸ This drift, averaging 50 feet in depth, is composed primarily of ground moraine consisting of till with a few minor lenses of sand and gravel.¹⁹ Although the till is closely related to the underlying bedrock, it has also been mixed with a variety of materials brought by the ice. It is generally light brown to brown in color, sandy in texture, and varies from relatively thin boulder clay over Cretaceous bedrock to Cretaceous bedrock only slightly modified by glaciation.²⁰

An important economic feature of the glacial drift is the presence of groundwater aquifers, of which two types occur. One, the sand and gravel lens, is found in the ground moraine, while the second, the sorted granular deposits, occurs in the glacial spillways.²¹ The first

¹⁸L.A. Bayrock, Glacial Geology of an Area of East-Central Alberta, Research Council of Alberta, Edmonton, 1955, p. 10.

¹⁹Le Breton, Groundwater Geology and Hydrology of the Lloydminster Area, op. cit., p. 26.

²⁰Bayrock, op. cit., pp. 16-18.

²¹Le Breton, Groundwater Geology and Hydrology of the Lloydminster Area, op. cit., p. 32.

is suited only for domestic and stock requirements, but the latter may reach a well capacity of 350 gallons per minute and could be used for industrial purposes.²² The drift groundwater, like the bedrock aquifers, is very hard and must be softened for use in boilers, homes and laundries.²³

The most important glacial features with respect to groundwater supplies in the study area are the spillways of the Big Gully and Blackfoot Creek, in the northeast and southwest corners of the study area respectively. Lloydminster however, obtains most of its municipal water supply from an extension of the Big Gully Creek aquifer, 12 to 15 miles north of the city, near Sandybeach Lake. This aquifer has an estimated total storage of 11.8×10^9 gallons.²⁴

Soils²⁵

Since each province employs its own soil classification it was rather difficult to present an accurate comparison between the two provincial sectors (Fig. 7). It may be concluded, however, that there are no significant soil differences between the two provinces. Instead, those differences that do occur, exist between the northern and southern sections of the study area.

²²Loc. cit.

²³Ibid., p. 37.

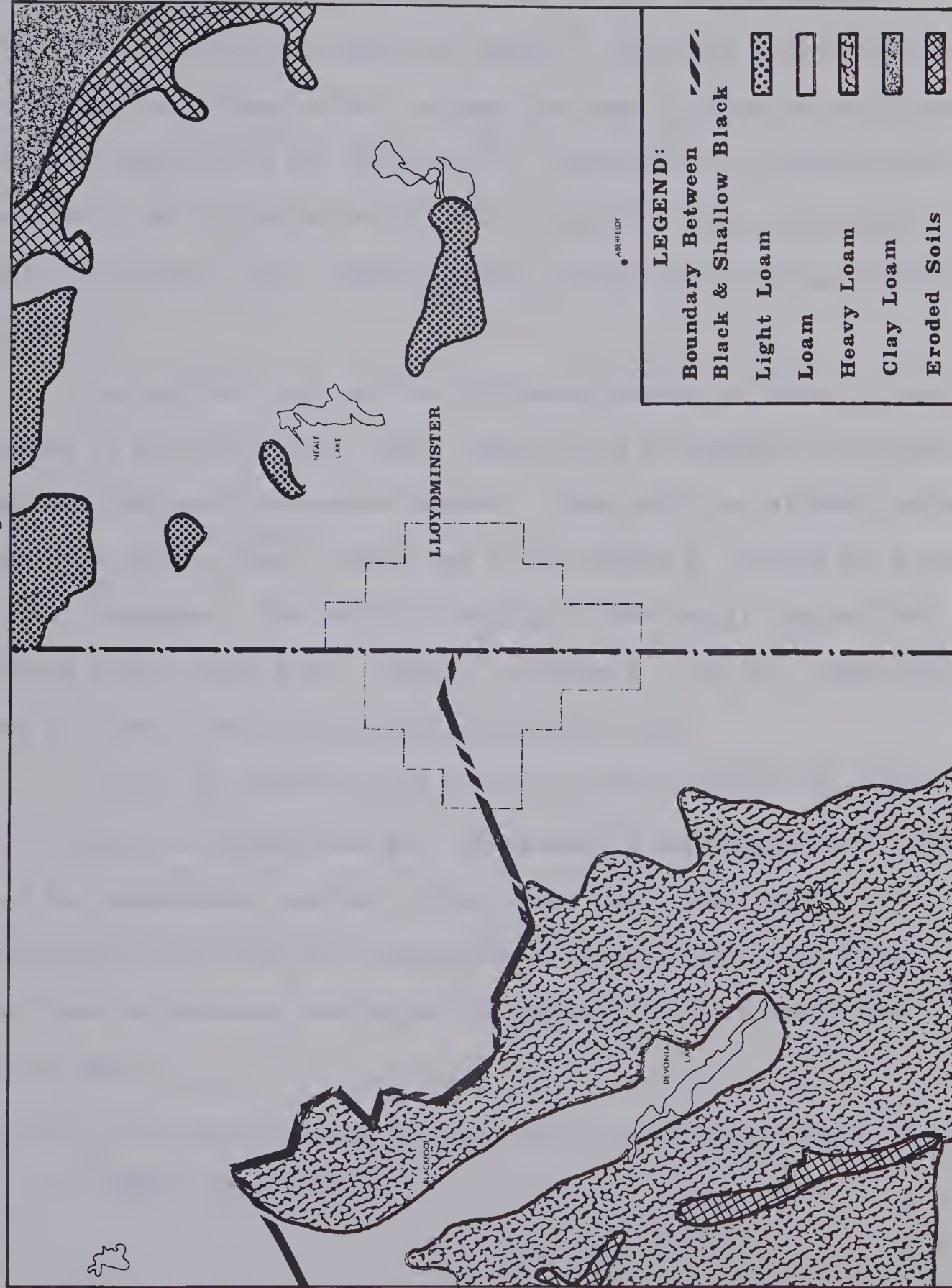
²⁴Ibid., p. 32.

²⁵For a more detailed description of the soils in the Lloydminster area see the following two sources from which this entire section was obtained.

Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 58-65 and pp. 193-194.

Wyatt, op. cit., pp. 54-55, pp. 68-69, pp. 64-66, p. 78.

Soils of the Study Area



SCALE: 1" = 2 MILES

Source: Alberta Soil Survey; Soil Survey of Saskatchewan

Fig. 7

The southern part of the study area consists of two to seven inches of shallow black solonetzic loam to clay loam on morainic boulder clay overlying Cretaceous bedrock. Wyatt and Newton classify the arability rating as fair to good, but land utilization often depends on the topography of the landscape.²⁶ These soils are generally considered to be fair wheat soils, fair to good for coarse grains and fair for forage crops. The non-arable land provides for good native pasture.

The northern part of the study area consists of seven to twelve inches of black solonetzic light loam to loam on modified (resorted) boulder clay over Cretaceous bedrock. These soils are slightly better than the shallow black, partly due to the deeper A₁ horizon and a more level topography. The arability rating of these soils ranges from fairly good to very good. They are considered to be fair wheat soils but good soils for coarse grains and forage crops.

It may be concluded that since the zonal structure is primarily north-south, no significant soil differences occur between the Alberta and the Saskatchewan sectors of the study area. There may be minor differences resulting from topographical features but these should not have an important bearing on the agricultural land use of the study area.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 64-69.

Climate²⁷

The climate of the study area, based on Koppen's classification, is the humid continental, cool summer sub-type, symbolized as Dfb. This climate is characterized by extreme seasonal variations in temperatures, ranging from as high as 90°F in the summer to as low as -35°F in the winter. The annual precipitation is about 16 inches, of which approximately 47 percent falls during the growing season. It is also characterized by a low wind velocity, a low relative humidity and an annual total of about 2,200 hours of bright sunshine. An important factor influencing the growing season is the killing frost which may occur as late in spring as June or as early in fall as September.

Although the climatic conditions are practically the same for the entire study area, there may be small local variations resulting mainly from topographic features. There is a small decrease of .64 inches in the precipitation from Vermilion in the west to Waseca in the east, particularly during the growing season. However, this is so small within the study area that it should have no significant effect on the overall agricultural land use pattern of the area.

CONCLUSION

This chapter clearly indicates that the physical environment of the study area is practically the same for both sides of the provincial boundary. While there may be some examples of minor local variation in the geology, topography, soil and climate, the overall physical landscape

²⁷For a more detailed analysis of the climate see Tables I and II.

TABLE I
PRECIPITATION IN INCHES. MEAN MONTHLY AND SEASONAL DISTRIBUTION
FOR STATIONS EAST AND WEST OF LLOYDMINSTER

Period	Ranfurly	Vermilion	Lloydminster	Waseca	North Battleford
August	2.88	3.04	2.51	2.36	1.71
September	1.72	1.53	1.30	1.29	1.28
October	0.80	0.74	0.79	0.96	0.93
Previous Fall	---- 5.40	---- 5.31	---- 4.60	---- 4.61	---- 3.92
November	0.90	0.64		0.90	0.74
December	0.86	0.75		0.85	0.82
January	0.80	0.75		0.72	0.52
February	0.77	0.50		0.85	0.51
March	0.93	0.70		0.67	0.37
Winter	---- 4.26	---- 3.34		---- 3.99	---- 2.96
April	0.97	0.98	1.00	1.07	0.87
May	1.70	1.14	1.29	1.39	1.37
June	2.53	2.62	2.31	2.44	2.33
July	2.67	2.93	2.50	2.13	2.10
Growing Season	---- 7.87	---- 7.67	---- 7.10	---- 7.03	---- 6.67
Total	17.53	16.32		15.63	13.55

Source:

Canada, Department of Transport, Meteorological Branch, Monthly Record, January-December, 1966. The figures for these tables were obtained by combining (either adding or subtracting) the mean monthly precipitation and temperature figure for each month of the year 1966 with the figure showing the variation from the monthly norm for that particular month.

TABLE II

MONTHLY, SEASONAL AND ANNUAL MEAN TEMPERATURES FOR
STATIONS EAST AND WEST OF LLOYDMINSTER

Period	Ranfurly	Vermilion	Lloydminster	Waseca	North Battleford
August	59.6	58.7	60.6	59.9	62.5
September	50.5	50.3	50.6	50.4	50.6
October	39.8	39.7	39.9	39.0	40.6
Previous Fall	----	49.96	----	49.76	51.23
November	22.0	21.5	49.56	20.3	21.1
December	10.1	8.2		7.1	7.2
January	4.2	2.5		0.6	0.7
February	7.6	4.8		4.4	4.6
March	20.3	17.2		17.6	18.4
Winter	----	12.84	10.84	----	10.4
April	38.6	37.2	37.6	37.0	38.4
May	51.5	50.1	50.7	50.5	52.3
June	57.6	55.9	57.7	57.4	59.6
July	63.6	61.8	64.1	63.2	65.8
Growing Season	----	52.82	51.25	52.02	54.02
Year (Average)	35.45	33.99		33.95	35.15

Source:

Canada, Department of Transport, Meteorological Branch, Monthly Record,
January-December, 1966.

is the same. It may be assumed, therefore, that any variations which may occur between the agricultural, and urban land use patterns of the two provincial sectors of the study area, are the result of cultural and political factors, rather than of the physical environment. It may also be concluded that the physical environment has had no significant impact upon the nature of the boundary line.

CHAPTER III

LLOYDMINSTER PRIOR TO 1906

The impact of the provincial boundary on the functions of Lloydminster and its surrounding area, may be more clearly understood if it is considered in the context of the settlement geography, and the succeeding changes brought about by the political and resource development of the area.

THE BARR COLONISTS

During the early years of the Twentieth Century the Federal Government sponsored several colonization schemes, of which the all-British settlement, known as the Barr Colony, was certainly one of the most noteworthy.

Under the leadership of its promoter, the Reverend Isaac M. Barr, and its chaplain, the Reverend George E. Lloyd, both clergymen of the Church of England, the group, consisting of some 2,000 men, women and children, sailed from Liverpool aboard the S.S. Lake Manitoba on March 31, 1903.¹ Following their arrival at Saint John, New Brunswick on April 12th, the emigrants travelled by the Canadian Pacific Railway to Regina and via the Canadian Northern Railway to Saskatoon, arriving

¹ Clive Tallant, "The Break With Barr: An Episode in the History of the Barr Colony". Saskatchewan History, Vol. 6 (1953), p. 41.

there on April 17th.² From there the colonists faced an overland trek of approximately 200 miles to the settlement site which Barr had secured from the Department of the Interior in the fall of 1902.³ Using horses, or ox and wagon, the settlers journeyed to Battleford and then to the settlement site, arriving at their final destination about seven weeks after they had started.⁴

Somewhere during this difficult journey, the emigrants lost confidence in Barr's organizational ability, and replaced him with Reverend Lloyd, under whose leadership they began the arduous task of building a permanent settlement in their new land. Very few of the settlers had any knowledge of Canadian climatic conditions. The majority were urban people who possessed no knowledge of agricultural techniques. To add to their problems, the nearest settlement for equipment and supplies was Battleford, 100 miles to the south-east. Commodity prices were, therefore, extremely high. Nevertheless the development of the colony progressed rapidly. Small tracts of land were cleared for cultivation and the construction of shelters was begun. Although the wealthier people shipped in lumber from Battleford and Saskatoon, the majority built their shelters from logs felled and drawn from the local woodstands. Some even used sod walls, and roofs of poplar poles, thatched with long grass from the surrounding sloughs.⁵

²Loc. cit.

³Loc. cit.

⁴Harry Pick, Next Year, Toronto, 1928, p. 210.

⁵Z.M. Hamilton and M.A. Hamilton, These Are the Prairies, Regina, 1948, p. 222.

The land for the first townsite, consisting of a section, was donated by Reverend Lloyd and three of his associates. Every settler who wished to build a house could obtain a free lot, although several areas were reserved for churches and a railway station.⁶

Almost at once a hamlet sprang up, and by October 21, 1903 the new settlement already contained two general stores, a post office, two restaurants, a blacksmith and a butcher shop.⁷ The community grew so rapidly that by November 30, 1903 it was established as a village in the Northwest Territories, under the name of Lloydminster.⁸

Even though the first winter was rather severe, by March 1904, the new village had 100 houses under construction, while a total of 400 lots were owned by various individuals.⁹ An immigration hall was under construction, a Mounted Police post had been established, other butcher and blacksmith shops had been started, a telegraph station was in operation and the church and rectory had been built.¹⁰

Throughout this early period freight was shipped in, either overland from Saskatoon or Battleford, or down the North Saskatchewan River from Edmonton. The latter route being especially busy during the summer months. The scows were floated to Hewitt's Landing from which

⁶C. Wetton, The Promised Land - The Story of the Barr Colonists, Lloydminster, 1953, p. 29.

⁷Ibid., p. 41.

⁸Survey of Lloydminster, op. cit., p. 4. The name Lloydminster was derived by joining Reverend Lloyd's surname to the term "Minster" or "Mother Church".

⁹Wetton, op. cit., p. 53.

¹⁰Loc. cit.

the supplies were freighted into the settlement by teams of horses or oxen. The scows were then broken up and the lumber used in the construction of the colony.¹¹

With the coming of the Canadian Northern Railway in 1905, prices fell almost immediately and the stability of the village was assured.¹² Construction continued at a rapid pace, and by November 1905 the village site had added, or was in the process of building, three hotels, various stores, a bank, a drug store, and a printing shop for the colony's newspaper, the Lloydminster Times.¹³ The foundations of the present day city of Lloydminster had been laid and organized.

THE PROVINCIAL BOUNDARY OF 1905¹⁴

In order to clearly understand the effects of the provincial boundary on the functions of Lloydminster it is necessary to briefly describe the circumstances under which it originated.

Nicholson points out that four basic questions arise from boundary studies, namely: where does the boundary occur; when, and under what circumstances did it take shape; what influenced its location; how does it affect the landscape? Since the last question is the underlying theme of this thesis, only the first three points will be discussed in this section.

¹¹Ibid., p. 44.

¹²Ibid., p. 41.

¹³Loc. cit.

¹⁴All the information in this section, unless otherwise indicated, was obtained from: Norman L. Nicholson, The Boundaries of Canada, Its Provinces and Territories, Ottawa, 1964.

Location

The provincial boundary, allocated in 1905 to separate the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, consists of a straight line, 761 miles in length, running north and south along the Fourth Meridian ($110^{\circ} 00'$ West Longitude), between the 49th Parallel and $60^{\circ} 00'$ North Latitude.

The Circumstances

The combination of an active immigration policy by the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier,¹⁵ and the unprecedented westward expansion of population, stimulated by the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, resulted in the rapid development of the Northwest Territories during the period 1897 to 1905. This created problems, since immigration was controlled by the federal government, while the task of providing for these people, including the construction of local works and employment, was the sole responsibility of the Territorial Government. The problems (primarily financial) resulting from this situation gradually became almost insurmountable, and, consequently, the territorial administration began requesting provincial status.

Factors Influencing the Location of the Boundary

As is the case with so many boundaries, the actual location of the Alberta - Saskatchewan boundary appears to have been a compromise between various economic and political forces. From the very beginning

¹⁵This policy also encouraged the Barr Colonists to settle in the Lloydminster area.

numerous proposals were presented as to where the boundaries of the new provinces should be located. Even the people of the territories could not agree how the territories should be divided. Proposals for one, two, three, and even four provinces, all had their supporters. Some of these suggestions were rooted in the economic geography of the time, but others were politically motivated.¹⁶

The Decision.

Finally, in 1905, Sir Wilfrid Laurier introduced legislation in the House of Commons providing for the creation of two new provinces. The Federal Government had decided that the Northwest Territories covered too large an area for a single province. It felt that the area north of 60° 00' North Latitude and west of Keewatin was "absolutely unfit for agriculture." Although it possessed indications of mineral wealth, without agriculture there could be little hope of "thick and permanent settlement," and, therefore, stable provincial government. Consequently, provincial autonomy was to be granted only to that part of the Territories located between the American boundary and the 60th parallel of North Latitude, and between Keewatin and British Columbia. This area, consisting of 550,345 square miles, was, in Ottawa's estimation, still too large for a single province. Therefore, it proposed to divide the area into two provinces, approximately equal in size, by a line running north and south along the 4th meridian, giving each new province an area of about 275,000 square miles and a population

¹⁶For a detailed discussion of these proposals see Nicholson, pp. 79-83.

of about 250,000 people. The eastern province was to be called Saskatchewan and the western province Alberta.

Criticism of the New Boundary

The most vocal criticism of the new boundary came from Calgary, Macleod, and Medicine Hat, all of which objected to the division of the range country between Medicine Hat and Swift Current. The Calgary Herald summed up the argument as follows:

the dividing line . . . is wrong, placed there evidently in an arbitrary manner without consideration and without regard to the physical features of the country or its agricultural and grazing qualities.¹⁷

They suggested that the line should have been placed as far east as the 105th or 107th meridians, so as to take in all the grazing land south of the South Saskatchewan River.

This criticism was not entirely groundless, for by 1905 dense settlement had not extended very far north of the United States border, and the effects of the dividing line were therefore, felt mainly in the southern sections of the new provinces. The residents of Lloydminster, however, had a more legitimate complaint. There the boundary divided not only the agricultural landscape, but the village of Lloydminster itself. The citizens of Lloydminster therefore, vigorously opposed the location of the new boundary, particularly the section located in their community.

Almost immediately various meetings were organized to determine how the problem could best be solved. The following examples clearly illustrate the prevailing mood of the village residents.

¹⁷ Calgary Herald, February 23, 1905.

Since the boundary would separate the existing Lloydminster School District No. 1036, N.W.T., into two parts, a meeting of the village tax payers was called to divide the assets and liabilities of the school system.¹⁸ However, instead of complying with this request, the taxpayers passed the following resolution:

That in the opinion of this meeting it would be very detrimental to the interests of education to divide the school district as instructed . . . , and this meeting strongly urges that for school purposes the district remain as at present and that an arrangement be made whereby the management of the School District be vested in one or other of the New Provinces.¹⁹

Another meeting was held on August 21, 1905 to discuss the effect the boundary would have on village operations, and to hear a letter from Sir Wilfrid Laurier.²⁰ The village had been corresponding with the Prime Minister to point out to him the many problems which could result from the division of the village into two parts, and to ask him to change the divisional line so that the whole village would be located within one province.

In his letter Laurier replied that the Dominion Parliament could not divert the boundary from the Fourth Meridian, but that the Provincial Parliaments would have the power to deal with the problem. The taxpayers therefore, decided that while the strongest possible steps should be taken with the view of placing the entire village within the borders of one province, that nothing could be done until the Provincial Parliaments

¹⁸Lloydminster Times, Lloydminster, Saskatchewan, Vol. I, No. 16, August 8, 1905.

¹⁹Lloydminster Times, Vol. I, No. 17, August 15, 1905.

²⁰Lloydminster Times, Vol. I, No. 19, August 29, 1905.

began their sessions. It was also decided not to express any public opinion as to which province was preferred, but to wait for further developments.

These examples clearly indicate that the majority of Lloydminster residents desired to maintain the political unity of their village, even if the village were not to be located in the province of their choice.

Classification

Using Hartshorne's classification based on the human occupance of the area prior to boundary allocation,²¹ Nicholson separated the Alberta-Saskatchewan boundary into two categories. The southern sector, which was allocated after settlement of the area, measures about 489 miles in length, and is classified as "superimposed," while the northern sector of 272 miles, which was drawn up prior to any settlement of the area, is defined as "pioneer."²²

Since the Lloydminster area was settled in 1903, two years before the establishment of the boundary, that section of the boundary within the study area may be categorized as superimposed.

SUMMARY

The Alberta-Saskatchewan boundary exemplifies modern boundary establishment in very recently developed areas. It indicates that in some cases boundaries are not allocated until settlement has occurred,

²¹For the full definition of these terms see Chapter I, pp. 14-15.

²²These mileage figures are rough estimates based on measurements made from a Map in Nicholson's book on page 122.

is immediately anticipated in the region, or until administrative problems arise.

Once the boundary is established however, the laws and actions of the governments of the two political units the boundary divides, may well result in significant differences between the cultural and economic landscapes of these respective political areas. Every boundary, at least to some extent, restricts the movement of people and the exchange of goods, money, and even ideas. The remaining chapters will attempt to analyze the barrier effect of the Alberta-Saskatchewan boundary at Lloydminster.

CHAPTER IV

THE EFFECT OF THE BOUNDARY ON THE POLITICAL FUNCTIONS OF LLOYDMINSTER

Throughout its history the provincial boundary has had a very significant impact upon the civic, provincial, and federal political functions of Lloydminster. The effects of this impact will be discussed in this chapter.

CIVIC GOVERNMENT

Available records¹ clearly indicate that the location of the provincial boundary created a great deal of confusion in the new community, particularly during the early stages of its development.

At the time the boundary was designated, Lloydminster was an embryonic farming community, which many residents felt had the necessary qualifications to become the major service center of the surrounding agricultural district. The majority of its citizens, however, were convinced that the village could achieve this goal only if it remained politically unified. This in turn could be attained only if the boundary was moved either east or west of its original position. The argument therefore focussed on the question which province, Alberta or Saskatchewan, could provide the most suitable economic, social and political environment in which Lloydminster could grow and prosper.

¹The Lloydminster Times, Vol. I, No. 12, July 11, 1905, to Vol. II, No. 86, December 11, 1906, Microfilm, Cameron Library, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Although all available means were used in expounding the advantages and disadvantages of the respective provinces,² the most significant method used to bring the problem to the people was the public forum. One of the first such meetings occurred on February 23, 1906 in St. John's Church on the Saskatchewan side of the provincial boundary.³ It thoroughly debated the boundary situation and its related problems, and concluded that a poll should be held to determine which province the majority of the citizens preferred. It was agreed that those in the minority on this issue would join with the majority, to act as a single unit in petitioning the various authorities to take the necessary legal steps so that the boundary could be moved either east or west of the village, for all time.

This poll was conducted on March 12, 1906, and the final result overwhelmingly favoured the Province of Saskatchewan by a vote of 79-35, a margin of 44 votes.⁴ The plebiscite was never accepted as final by either province, and on July 6, 1906 the Alberta sector of the community was officially proclaimed as the Village of Lloydminster, Alberta, followed ten months later, on April 1, 1907 by a similar

²See Appendix II for two letters to the editor of the Lloydminster Times, one favoring amalgamation with Saskatchewan, the other with Alberta.

³"Meeting Re: The Boundary Line". Lloydminster Times, Lloydminster, Vol. I, No. 45, February 27, 1906, p. 5.

⁴"Boundary Line". Lloydminster Times, Lloydminster, Vol. I, No. 47, March 13, 1906, p. 5.

announcement incorporating the Saskatchewan sector into the Town of Lloydminster, Saskatchewan.⁵

This development however, did not alleviate the problem. From the moment they assumed office the two councils were faced with the question of the political unification of Lloydminster. The town council meeting of April 17, 1907, proposed that two delegates, one each from the town and village councils, would visit both Edmonton and Regina, and Ottawa if necessary, to discuss the problem of the amalgamation of the two sections of Lloydminster with the two provincial governments and the federal government.⁶

These envoys were requested to ascertain whether or not the respective provincial governments would reject or accept the town or village respectively, depending on the outcome of a formal ballot by the citizens of Lloydminster. They were also given the authority to determine the relative advantages and inducements of the two provinces, as well as making the necessary arrangements with the provincial governments for the consolidation of town and village revenues on a permanent basis for municipal purposes. Finally, they could also request the federal government to approve and to render, any assistance required in the proposed amalgamation.

A combined meeting of the town and village councils on May 28, 1907, proposed that a plebiscite be conducted on July 15, 1907 among

⁵Survey of Lloydminster, Department of Industry and Development, Edmonton, 1963, p. 4.

⁶Minutes of the Municipality of Lloydminster Council Meeting, April 19, 1907.

all property owners, to determine the political future of Lloydminster.⁷ Unfortunately, the plebiscite was cancelled on the recommendations of four Saskatchewan council members, including the mayor, during a special council meeting held the morning on which the poll was to be conducted.⁸ While this development did defuse temporarily the efforts in favor of amalgamation, the issue was not dead, and the possibility of political union of both sectors of Lloydminster continued to be a topic of lively debate at succeeding council meetings. It was not until almost 25 years later, however, on May 20, 1930, that the Village of Lloydminster, Alberta and the Town of Lloydminster, Saskatchewan, were amalgamated into the Town of Lloydminster.⁹

The Lloydminster Charter

Since 1930 Lloydminster has operated under a special charter known as the "Lloydminster Charter." This unique piece of legislation originated under the provisions of the "Lloydminster Municipal Amalgamation Act" passed in 1930 by the Government of Alberta, and the "Lloydminster Municipal Amalgamation Act," passed the same year by the Government of Saskatchewan. It was approved under complementary Orders-in-Council by the governments of both provinces.¹⁰ This simply

⁷Minutes of the Municipality of Lloydminster Council Meeting, May 28, 1907.

⁸Minutes of the Municipality of Lloydminster Council Meeting, July 15, 1907. Unfortunately no explanation of the sudden cancellation of the poll was given in the minutes.

⁹Survey of Lloydminster, op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁰Pers. Comm. with His Worship Mayor E.G. Hudson of Lloydminster, October 5, 1967.

meant that the Town of Lloydminster would function municipally under the "Lloydminster Charter," instead of under the Town Act, Alberta or the Town Act, Saskatchewan. When the town was raised to City status on January 1, 1958, the "Lloydminster Charter" was amended accordingly.¹¹

Under the regulations of this charter the civic affairs of Lloydminster are to be administered by one council, consisting of a mayor, elected for a term of two years, and six councillors, three of which are elected every year for a two year term.¹² These representatives are elected on the basis of a city-wide vote, without any residence stipulation.¹³ Council has complete jurisdiction over the entire city, and all residents are governed municipally by city by-laws, although they are bound by provincial statutes in respect to the province in which they reside.¹⁴ The city also employs a City Clerk and a City Commissioner, whose functions are to carry out the policy outlined by the city council.¹⁵

Factors Leading to Civic Unification

Prior to the amalgamation of the village and town of Lloydminster into a single civic unit, much municipal confusion existed in the community. Not only were there two separate councils, two fire brigades, two

¹¹Survey of Lloydminster, op. cit., p. 4.

¹²Loc. cit.

¹³Pers. Comm., Mayor E.G. Hudson, op. cit. At the time of communication only the Mayor was a Saskatchewan resident, while all his aldermen resided in the Alberta sector of the city.

¹⁴Loc. cit.

¹⁵Survey of Lloydminster, op. cit., p. 7.

public schools, but two of almost every administrative and service function.¹⁶ While this situation created much friendly rivalry between the two sectors, it also resulted in unnecessary and costly duplication of administrative and service facilities and functions, particularly in relation to the relatively small population of the community.

This problem is evident in the minutes of the early town council meetings. Before any civic or public service function of benefit to the entire community could be carried out, the cooperation of both communities was required, otherwise it would be economically unfeasible. The following three examples attempt to illustrate this point.

1. As the population of Lloydminster continued to grow, the citizens' demands for improved facilities and better services also increased. Electricity is one of the basic requirements of a growing community and Lloydminster was no exception. If Lloydminster had been a single political unit, the process of installing an electric lighting system would have been relatively simple. However, as a result of the political division of the community, the respective councils were forced to establish two committees to canvass each sector separately and to arrange a cost-sharing agreement acceptable to both sides.¹⁷ This, of course, was a time-consuming process, but necessary under the circumstances.

2. The political division also resulted in financial difficulties. Prior to the division of the community into two sectors, the original

¹⁶Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁷Minutes of the Municipality of Lloydminster Council Meetings, March 24, 1908 and June 23, 1908.

Village of Lloydminster, Northwest Territories, had accumulated a number of financial debts. These together with the debts acquired for programs of benefit to both sides since the partition, had to be paid. This could only be accomplished through the joint cooperation of both councils, whose mutual consent was necessary before the payments for these debts could be made.¹⁸

3. The last example could be considered humorous if it had not been so serious. Although the boundary fostered a genuine friendly rivalry between the two sectors, there were instances when community pride resulted in such fierce competition that common sense was forgotten. The competition between the two fire brigades was so great that the one was not allowed to cross the border into the other's territory. Finally the town fire brigade petitioned town council to allow the village fire brigade free access into the town, without renunciation, in case of an emergency, on the condition that the same privilege would be granted to them within the village boundaries.¹⁹

These are only three examples which show the unnecessary duplication of time, effort and finance, which hampered effective municipal government and which finally resulted in the political unification of civic government in Lloydminster. Other examples could have been discussed, but these too would have led to the same conclusions. It

¹⁸Minutes of the Municipality of Lloydminster Council Meetings, August 6, 1907 and February 28, 1910.

¹⁹Minutes of the Municipality of Lloydminster Council Meeting, October 13, 1908.

was decided therefore that these three cases indicated sufficiently the basic problems which faced the divided community.

Existing Problems Resulting From the Political Division

Even though the amalgamation of 1930 eliminated many of the civic problems discussed in the preceding section, it could not solve all of them. Even today the efficiency of the civic administration is hampered by unnecessary duplications in its administrative functions, as the following three examples will indicate.

1. The first example concerns the sale of debentures by the city. The City of Lloydminster has no authority to sell its debentures until the city administration has gained the approval of both the Local Government Board in Regina, and its counterpart, the Local Authorities Board in Edmonton. While this approval is generally granted, this procedure entails a great amount of time and results in a lot of unnecessary delay for the city.²⁰

2. The second example is related to the crime enforcement aspect of the city. Although the City of Lloydminster holds a contract with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police for the maintenance of law and order in the community, the offenders may be prosecuted only in the province in which they committed the offence, as this is regulated in the provincial statutes. This applies particularly to traffic and liquor offences.²¹ This necessitates the establishment of a court room on

²⁰Pers. Comm., Mayor E.G. Hudson, op. cit.

²¹Loc. cit.

each side of the boundary, one for Alberta offenders and one for Saskatchewan offenders. Not only does this situation increase the possibility of two different levels of punishment for the same offence, but it has prevented the City of Lloydminster from having its own court house, as neither province is willing to have its provincial laws administered by the judicial system of the other. Lloydminster is however, not of sufficient size to warrant the construction of two separate court houses.

3. The final example is another excellent illustration of the problems which confront the civic administration of Lloydminster as a direct result of its location astride the provincial boundary. On December 21, 1965 the City of Lloydminster filed a petition for the annexation of more than 13,000 acres of land from the surrounding rural municipalities, both in Alberta as well as Saskatchewan. Usually annexation or amalgamation proceedings in Alberta and Saskatchewan are dealt with by the respective local government boards. In the case of Lloydminster however, these boards have no jurisdiction in annexation proposals. Instead, a specially-appointed joint committee, consisting of five men representing both governments, was set up to conduct the annexation hearings and to report their findings to the two provincial cabinets, which must make the final decision.²² In any other annexation hearings cabinet approval is not required.

²²These hearings were conducted in Lloydminster between January 25, and January 28, 1966. The Alberta members were appointed by the Executive Council pursuant to the provisions of Order-in-Council No. 1819/65, dated Tuesday, October 12, 1965. The Saskatchewan members of the committee were appointed by the Deputy Minister, Department of Municipal Affairs, Regina, Saskatchewan.

These are three of the many examples available for study. Almost all of the city's administrative records require duplication, including such items as building permits issued and their evaluation, land and business assessments and retail trade. While this situation is not serious, it is a nuisance and results in unnecessary duplication of time, effort and finance.

Some Advantages of the Political Division

Although the political separation of Lloydminster results in various administrative problems it also produces some beneficial consequences, particularly financial. The city receives substantial financial grants from both provinces on approximately equal basis. These grants are generally based on the size of the population in the respective sectors of the city, but in neither case do the provinces stipulate the manner in which these grants may be used by the city.²³

In 1967, the Province of Alberta provided Lloydminster with 444,500 dollars in direct grants, including a Municipalities Assistance Act Grant of 50,000 dollars, a Highway Grant of 393,300 dollars, and a Welfare Grant estimated at 1,200 dollars.²⁴ In addition to these grants, various types of indirect assistance grants, such as homeowners grants, certain hospital grants, and education grants are available to Lloydminster residents.²⁵ The Province of Alberta also provides low

²³Pers. Comm., Mayor E.G. Hudson, op. cit.

²⁴Lloydminster Chamber of Commerce information sheet.

²⁵Loc. cit.

interest loans for projects developed in the Alberta sector of the city.²⁶ Finally, the Alberta government supplies Lloydminster with a substantial unconditional grant which is not provided by the Saskatchewan government.²⁷

The Province of Saskatchewan provides the City of Lloydminster with financial assistance by means of a grant system, similar to that described for Alberta. In addition to these grants, the Saskatchewan government, through the Assessment Branch of the Department of Municipal Affairs, supplies the entire City of Lloydminster with the services of professional property valuers. These valuers re-assess the city every five years, free of charge.²⁸ The Province of Saskatchewan also carries out free inspection of natural gas installations in the entire city.²⁹

This brief section on civic government has attempted to describe the impact exerted by the boundary on the civic political functions of the City of Lloydminster. While it is recognized that other examples could be added, it is felt that the examples already discussed are of sufficient number to provide a clear indication of the problems which face the Lloydminster City Administration. It is also unfortunate that the paucity of specific data did not allow the author to conduct a cost analysis either of the amount of time wasted, or of the sums of money spent, as a direct result of the presence of the provincial boundary.

²⁶W.M. Cardiff, "City of Lloydminster". The Alberta Municipal Counsellor, September, 1958, p. 7.

²⁷Pers. Comm., Mayor E.G. Hudson, op. cit.

²⁸Cardiff, op. cit., p. 7.

²⁹Loc. cit.

PROVINCIAL POLITICS

Since border settlements such as Lloydminster are generally subjected to a complex matrix of economic, social and political factors, it is extremely difficult to determine whether certain developments are the result, either directly or indirectly, of civic, provincial, or federal political decisions. Therefore, to simplify this dilemma, this section will discuss only those aspects directly related to party politics. This includes both the effect of the various political parties on the voting patterns of the respective provincial sectors of the study area, as well as the influence of the political geography on political party development and voting patterns of the study area. The remaining aspects, which may be related to, or influenced by provincial politics, such as social or economic factors, will be discussed in the following two chapters.

The Historical Development of Voting Patterns in the Study Area

The Lloydminster area provides the political geographer with an excellent opportunity to determine whether a political boundary, acting through time, can lead to significant changes in the political allegiance of an area that began as a homogeneous community.

Two factors undoubtedly influenced the voting pattern of the original colonists. The British colonists who settled the Lloydminster area were raised in a two-party political democracy and continued to support the respective parties they had supported in the past, even

though the political philosophies of these parties differed slightly from those of their British counterparts.³⁰

The second factor influencing the political outlook of these people was directly related to their common experiences as a group. It seems logical that the difficulties they had shared, the problems they now faced, and the hopes and aspirations they desired, would unite them in common bond and lead them to support that political party which best symbolized their aims and which seemed most capable of providing the socio-economic conditions necessary for the development of their community.

It is therefore not surprising that both constituencies containing the respective sectors of the study area elected Liberal Party candidates in the first three elections held prior to 1913 (Table III).³¹ It was this party, which as the government in power, had promoted and encouraged the colonization of Western Canada. Thus its policies were actively committed to the successful conclusion of this settlement. One of the major policies of the government in this respect was the construction of a second trans-Canada railway, linking Moncton, New Brunswick with Vancouver, British Columbia. This railway arrived in Lloydminster in 1905.

However, political gratitude never lasts forever. With the increasing assimilation of new settlers from other parts of Canada into

³⁰The two parties referred to, are the Liberal and Conservative Parties. The British Labour Party was not organized until 1906.

³¹Unfortunately no voting statistics were available for the 1905 Saskatchewan provincial election.

TABLE III

PROVINCIAL ELECTION RETURNS FOR THE CONSTITUENCIES CONTAINING
THE TWO SECTORS OF THE STUDY AREA
1905-1967

ALBERTA		SASKATCHEWAN													
Alexandra Constituency ¹		Cut Knife Constituency ²													
Year	Percentage Vote						Total Numerical Vote	Percentage Vote						Total Numerical Vote	
	U.F.A.	Lib.	Con. & Prog. Con.	C.C.F. & N.D.P.	S.C.	Others		Year	Lib.	Con. & Prog. Con.	C.C.F. & N.D.P.	S.C.	Others		
1905		70.5	29.5				995	1905	L						
1906		64.6	Acclamation					1908	51.4	48.6					
1909			35.4			Ind. 17.9	1,193	1912	45.7	24.0				Ind. 30.3	1,324
1913		40.7	41.4				1,155	1917	59.8	40.2					1,325
1917			Acclamation				---	1921	Acclamation						2,102
1921	88.6					11.4	2,477	1925	66.7				Prog. 33.3		---
1926	71.0	10.9	18.1				2,327	1929	43.6	27.4			29.0		1,716
1930	72.7	27.3				Con. 4.5	2,374	1934	38.4	15.5			F-L. 46.1		3,462
1935	21.2	12.9	4.6		56.8		4,363								7,085

TABLE III (continued)

Alexandra Constituency							Cut Knife Constituency							
Year	Percentage Vote						Total Numer- ical Vote	Percentage Vote					Total Numer- ical Vote	
	U.F.A.	Lib.	Con. & Prog. Con.	C.C.F. & N.D.P.	S.C.	Others		Year	Lib.	Con. & Prog. Con.	C.C.F. & N.D.P.	S.C.		Others
1940				26.8	46.7	Ind. 26.5	4,743	1938	36.0		25.1	38.9		6,612
1940				45.6	54.4	Com. 3.9	4,279	1944	40.0		60.0			4,546
1944				38.9	57.2		3,867	1948	24.7		48.8	26.5		6,200
1948		16.8		30.7	52.5		3,875	1948			52.7	14.1		6,829
1952				30.7	69.3		3,483	1952	33.2		50.7	21.0		6,583
1955		34.2		14.2	51.6		4,153	1956	28.3		47.4	10.1		6,196
1959		9.0	31.5		59.5		3,960	1960	29.8	12.7	46.0	----		6,365
1963		22.9		10.7	66.4		4,947	1964	28.6	25.4	44.5	2.5		6,436
1967		6.1	19.0	16.8	58.1		4,959	1967	33.0	20.0				

Source:

Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1905 to 1967.

¹Prior to 1909 Alexandra Constituency was known as Vermilion Constituency.²Prior to 1934 Cut Knife Constituency was known as Lloydminster Constituency.

the region, the voting pattern of the area soon underwent significant changes. Table III shows that between 1913 and 1935 Alberta voters elected candidates of three different political parties, Conservative, United Farmers of Alberta (U.F.A.), and Social Credit. In this same period the Saskatchewan electorate steadfastly maintained the political status-quo and continued their endorsement of Liberal Party candidates until the election of 1934, when they voted a Farmer-Labor candidate into office.

These were the years of the Great Depression. It was a time of crisis, during which the economic and financial instability of the region reached such magnitudes that the prairie voter became convinced that only the drastic measures proposed by two new, radical parties, could end the economic dilemma. As a result the Alberta voters elected the ultra-right wing Social Credit Party led by the charismatic appeal of a self-made preacher, called "Bible Bill" Aberhart, and his monetary theory of "social credit." In Saskatchewan, following a brief period of uncertainty, in which they voted Farmer-Labor in 1934, and Social Credit in 1938, the voters in 1944 turned to the left-wing policies of the Commonwealth Cooperative Federation (C.C.F.) Party, led by an ex-Baptist minister known as T.C. "Tommy" Douglas. This situation has remained unchanged until the present, with each sector returning candidates of these respective parties with comfortable majorities (Table III).

In addition to this striking contrast between the two parties in power in each sector, major differences also exist in the political support for the various opposition parties. On the Saskatchewan side

of Lloydminster the Liberal Party has been a strong second choice, consistently polling approximately 30 percent of the votes. The political fortunes of Social Credit have faded rapidly since 1948 and the party polled only 2.5 percent of the vote in the 1967 provincial election. The Conservative (including the Progressive Conservative) Party has also spent many years in the political doldrums. It exerted almost no significant political force in the Saskatchewan sector from 1917 to 1960, fielding candidates only in 1917, 1929 and 1934. Since 1960, however, the party has attempted to re-establish itself and has now firmly entrenched itself as an alternative third choice.

In Alberta, however, the statistics in Table III reveal quite a different voting pattern. While Social Credit has remained in power with large majorities, the opposition parties have floundered hopelessly in political oblivion.

The C.C.F.-N.D.P. Party has been the only party providing any significant opposition to the Social Credit Party. This may be the result of the fact that these two parties lie on the opposite extremes of the political spectrum, thereby providing the people with a clear cut alternative. They were undoubtedly, also aided by the fact that the two "major parties" were very ineffective and disorganized. Since 1952, however, the C.C.F.-N.D.P. Party has dropped considerably in popularity.

Both the Liberal and Conservative Parties have fared miserably since Social Credit seized political power. Each party showed only brief flashes of life, the Liberals in 1955 and the Conservatives in 1959.

A Comparison of the Rural and Urban Polls

A more detailed analysis of the voting statistics in recent provincial elections indicates that the rural and urban voters of the Alberta sector overwhelmingly endorsed the Social Credit Party, whereas the rural and urban voters of the Saskatchewan sector strongly favored the New Democratic Party.³² There is however a tendency on the part of the rural electorate in either sector to be slightly stronger in their support for these political parties than their urban counterparts.

It is more difficult to assess the relative strengths and weaknesses of the various opposition parties among the rural and urban voters, particularly in Alberta where all three parties are very weak. In Saskatchewan, however, the Liberals are clearly a strong second alternative with the Conservatives a solid third choice.

Possible Reasons for the Existing Political Differences

While the provincial boundary has not been the only factor affecting the political functions of the study area, there is little doubt that the presence of the boundary has been the most significant factor influencing the political life of the community.

The greatest impact of the boundary, and one which underlies almost all of the present political differences of the study area, is its separation of the political orientation of the Lloydminster area between Edmonton and Regina. Once a political unit is established, the political, economic, and social problems arising within the confines of

³²See Appendix III for these statistics.

its borders depend for their solution upon the political decisions originating in the legislative centre of that unit. Consequently, when the boundary was accepted as a "de jure" feature of the political landscape, people on either side of it focussed their attention increasingly upon the decisions made by their elected politicians in Edmonton and Regina respectively.

This division in the political orientation of the study area eventually led to a gradual change in the political focus of the political parties, as well as of the electorate of the community. Both groups were now faced with the responsibility of selecting those leaders and policies they felt would best represent the interests of their particular province and constituency.

Consequently, even though the individual voter still had four parties or candidates from which to choose, the study area supported eight political parties, with each of the four parties in one sector differing, both in leadership and platform, from its namesake in the opposite sector. This situation, has resulted in a sharp contrast in the support received by the respective political parties in the two sectors of the study area. It is rather difficult to determine however, if this contrast is the result of leadership differences or platform variations. There is no doubt that the charismatic appeal and oratorical abilities of such men as Aberhart, Douglas, Manning and Thatcher was vastly superior to that of the other party leaders, and these talents undoubtedly played an important role in their respective achievement of political power. The following example indicates however, that there are times when issues are far more important than personalities. When Mr. Aberhart led Social Credit to power in Alberta in 1935, primarily on the strength of a

promise of a 25 dollar monthly bonus to all residents of the province, some people left the Saskatchewan sector of Lloydminster for the "greener" pastures on the Alberta side. When the promise failed to materialize, and the C.C.F. government in Saskatchewan instituted a hospitalization scheme, many of these residents moved back.³³

Other factors, in addition to those of leadership and party platforms, which could influence the voting pattern of the study area include, local issues directly or indirectly affecting the study area; the personality and qualifications of the individual candidates in the race; and the total effort, financially, physically, and psychologically, exerted by the respective candidates in the various campaigns. The existence of the boundary is, however, a fundamental condition of the present electoral map.

Questionnaire Results

All of the points discussed in the preceeding sections were substantiated by the results of a survey conducted by the author in the summer of 1967.³⁴ In reply to the question "What political party did you support in the last provincial election?", the following results were tabulated:

³³Ken Liddell, Alberta Revisited, Toronto, 1960, pp. 152-153. Unfortunately Mr. Liddell does not quote the number of people involved or whether there was any buying or selling of property involved.

³⁴The questionnaire survey on which this discussion is based consisted of personal interviews, with 50 city residents, 25 in each sector of the study area, and 25 farmers, 12 of which reside in Alberta and 13 of which reside in Saskatchewan. A more detailed description of the procedure used to conduct this survey is found in Appendix I.

TABLE IV
PARTY BREAKDOWN OF QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY VOTE IN THE 1967
SASKATCHEWAN AND ALBERTA PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

	ALBERTA					SASKATCHEWAN					Total Numerical Vote	
	% vote for each Political Party				Total Numerical Vote	% vote for each Political Party				Total Numerical Vote		
	Lib.	Prog. Cons.	N.D.P.	S.C.		No Answer	Lib.	Prog. Cons.	N.D.P.			S.C.
Political Parties												
Urban	8.0	16.0	0.0	64.0	25	12.0	28.0	28.0	8.0	24.0	25	
Rural	8.3	8.3	0.0	66.7	12	46.1	23.1	30.8	0.0	0.0	13	
Total	8.1	13.5	0.0	64.9	37	23.7	26.3	28.9	5.3	15.3	38	

Source:

Questionnaire Survey by the author in the summer of 1967.

These statistics reveal a similar voting pattern to that of the official returns, however the percentage vote for the two parties in power is somewhat smaller, particularly in Saskatchewan. This may be the result, both of the limited size of the survey and the rather high number of "no answer" returns among the urban electorate in Saskatchewan. These factors may also have led to the shift in positions between the Conservative and Liberal Parties in Saskatchewan.

One of the more interesting results of the survey however, is shown in Table V. These figures are based on the answers received to the question "Would you support the same party if you were living in the opposite sector of Lloydminster? Why or why not?"

The most significant aspect revealed by these statistics is the high number of Alberta Social Credit supporters who indicated they would abandon the party if they lived in the Saskatchewan sector of the study area. The following are some of the reasons advanced for this change. The Saskatchewan Social Credit Party lacks organization; the Saskatchewan Social Credit Party lacks a realistic platform; the Saskatchewan Social Credit Party has no chance of winning; I would vote for the party with the best chance of beating the socialists (N.D.P.); and last, but certainly not least, the Saskatchewan Social Credit Party has no leader like Mr. Manning.

The only reason given by those Social Credit voters who stated they would retain their support of this party if they should move to Saskatchewan was "They do a good job here in Alberta so why should I change?" Those people who indicated they were undecided stated they would probably vote for the best qualified candidate irrespective of

TABLE V

CHANGES IN PARTY SUPPORT BASED ON THE RESULT OF A
HYPOTHETICAL CHANGE IN PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE

	Liberal				Prog. Cons.				N.D.P.				Soc. Cred.				No Answer	Total				Total inter-viewed
	P/S	Y	N	U	P/S	Y	N	U	P/S	Y	N	U	P/S	Y	N	U						
Alberta																						
	2	2	0	0	4	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	16	9	6	1	3	22	13	7	2	25
	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	2	5	1	2	10	4	5	1	12
Total	3	3	0	0	5	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	24	11	11	2	5	32	17	12	3	37
Saskatchewan																						
	3	2	1	0	7	3	2	2	7	4	2	1	2	2	0	0	6	19	11	5	3	25
	6	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	4	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	13	5	4	4	13
Total	9	4	3	2	10	4	3	3	11	6	3	2	2	2	0	0	6	32	16	9	7	38

Legend: P/S. Party supported in last provincial election.

Y. Would support the same party in the opposite sector.

N. Would not support the same party in the opposite sector.

U. Undecided.

Source:

Questionnaire survey by the author in the summer of 1967.

party affiliation. The number of supporters of other parties showing willingness to change was relatively insignificant and only the Conservative Party was affected.

The number of Saskatchewan voters stating they would switch party support was slightly smaller than that of their Alberta neighbors, and was much more evenly divided among the various parties. Only Social Credit followers failed to indicate any desire to change. This undoubtedly reflects the strength of Social Credit in Alberta and the relative weakness of the other three parties. It is significant to note that all the voters indicating a desire to change favored the Social Credit Party, because: "Mr. Manning is doing such a good job." This includes several N.D.P. supporters, a party furthest removed from Social Credit on the political spectrum. This points out the premise that many people possess very little knowledge concerning basic party philosophies, and vote strictly according to personalities.

The Saskatchewan voters who chose to retain their party affiliation presented two reasons for their decision; party loyalty, i.e. "It is the party which gave us medicare," and strong dislike for the "dictatorial attitudes of Social Credit in general and Mr. Manning in particular." The undecided voter generally preferred to examine each individual candidate and their platforms carefully before making a decision, or they simply did not know or care.

This survey clearly indicates that the division of the Lloydminster area into two provincial sectors, each with its own interests and needs, has led to the formation of two distinct voting patterns in the study area. These voting patterns are influenced by several factors, including

the popular appeal of the various party leaders, the acceptance or rejection of party platforms, the personal qualifications of the various local candidates, and the voter's own personal interest.

FEDERAL POLITICS

The impact of federal politics on the study area differs from that of provincial politics, as the political focus of the study area in this respect has been reduced to a common denominator--Ottawa. Thus both sides of the study area are now able to vote for the same party leaders and platforms. Each sector however, is still within different constituencies, and must therefore, select separate candidates.

A comparison of federal and provincial election statistics for the study area shows that there have been relatively few differences between the general voting patterns of the two levels of government.³⁵ This means that Alberta voters tended to reject the two "old-line" parties in favor of "protest" parties such as the Progressive Party, the United Farmers of Alberta Party, and the Social Credit Party. The Liberal Party has received very little support from the Alberta half of the study area, and has not been a serious threat since the election of 1911. The Conservative Party suffered a similar fate until its revival in the Diefenbaker landslide of 1958. The C.C.F.-N.D.P. Party has not been a significant political force since the elections of 1935 and 1940, and its popularity has dwindled ever since that time.

Generally speaking, the Alberta voters inclined to be rather "conservative" in their political views, not only in the parties they

³⁵ See Appendix III for both sets of statistics.

support but also in their reluctance to change the political status quo. However, whenever a change was deemed necessary it always received overwhelming support.

Saskatchewan voters on the other hand tended to be more "radical" in their choice of political parties. The Liberal and C.C.F.-N.D.P. parties which received only meager support from Alberta voters enjoyed greater success in Saskatchewan, particularly between 1935 and 1957. Even in this part of the study area however, the Diefenbaker magnetism had its effect, and from 1957 to 1968 the Saskatchewan sector remained solidly in the Conservative fold. Social Credit, except between 1935 and 1945, has not been a serious contender in the Saskatchewan half of the study area. Compared to their Alberta neighbors Saskatchewan voters are inclined to be much quicker in their demands for a change, and with the exception of the Diefenbaker era they never backed one party for more than three consecutive times.

A Comparison of the Rural and Urban Polls

A comparison of the voting statistics for rural and urban polls in federal elections, revealed some interesting points. Whereas the rural and urban voters of the Alberta sector, with the exception of 1911, always supported the same party which their half of the study area as a whole supported, their Saskatchewan neighbors were not so consistent. At one time or another each group, and even both groups (1935), have varied from the choice made by their part of the study area as a whole.

Several generalizations can be derived from these statistics. In general the Liberal Party in both sectors of the study area receives

the majority of its support from the urban rather than the rural electorate. The Social Credit Party in Alberta and the C.C.F.-N.D.P. Party in Saskatchewan both derive their largest percentage vote from the rural voters. The Conservative Party in each side of the study area has at various times received strong support from both, rural and urban segments of the electorate.

Possible Reasons for the Existing Political Differences

Many of the points discussed under the same heading in the section on provincial politics also apply to federal politics. For instance, even though the leaders and platforms of the federal parties are the same for the entire study, they still play an important role in shaping the voting pattern of the study area. The example of John George Diefenbaker provides sufficient proof. Never, in the entire history of Lloydminster, have the voting patterns of the two parts of the study area been so similar as they were in the years Mr. Diefenbaker was Prime Minister. This was the result both of Mr. Diefenbaker's personal appeal to the western voter, as well as the Conservative agricultural policy he helped formulate. With his political downfall in 1963, the popular vote of the Conservative Party in the study area also declined (Appendix III), and in the federal election of 1968 the Saskatchewan side of the study area returned to N.D.P. fold.

Other factors also have influenced the federal voting patterns. Such aspects as foreign policy, trade and tariff agreements, agricultural policy, and health and welfare legislation have certainly affected federal political development in the study area. There is some indication that the qualifications and personalities of the

individual candidates are of much greater significance in federal than in provincial elections, particularly if there are no major issues or dominant leaders separating the federal parties.

Questionnaire Results

A comparison of the two sets of answers obtained from the same questions, for both federal and provincial politics, provides several interesting facts.

When the figures tabulated in Table VI are compared to those presented by Table IV it must be remembered that both sets of figures are based on the answers provided by the same people. Note the large shift of votes away from the provincial Social Credit Party and N.D.P. Party, in Alberta and Saskatchewan respectively, to the Progressive Conservative Party in federal elections. This indicates that people cast their ballot on the basis of different criteria in these two levels of politics.

In reply to the question whether they would support the same party if they resided in the opposite sector of Lloydminster, only two people indicated the possibility of a switch. This would occur only if they had no confidence in the qualifications and ability of the local candidate representing their respective political party in the other sector. The remainder all stated that they had no intention of changing parties, unless there was a sudden change in party leadership or policy.³⁶

³⁶This survey was conducted just prior to the dramatic events which highlighted both the Conservative and Liberal leadership conventions.

TABLE VI
PARTY BREAKDOWN OF QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY VOTE IN THE
1965 FEDERAL ELECTION

	ALBERTA					SASKATCHEWAN						
Political Parties	% vote for each Political Party					Total Numer- ical Vote	% vote for each Political Party					Total Numer- ical Vote
	Lib.	Prog. Cons.	N.D.P.	S.C.	No Answer		Lib.	Prog. Cons.	N.D.P.	S.C.	No Answer	
Urban	24.9	48.0	4.0	8.0	16.0	25	12.0	40.0	16.0	8.0	24.0	25
Rural	8.3	75.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	12	23.1	53.8	15.4	0.0	7.7	13
Total	18.9	56.8	2.7	5.4	16.2	37	15.8	44.7	15.8	5.3	18.4	38

Source:

Questionnaire Survey by the author in the summer of 1967.

Based on the facts presented above it may be concluded that the impact of the provincial boundary is much greater on provincial than on federal politics. This is undoubtedly related to the fact that federal politics deals mainly with the issues and problems of significance to all Canadians, irrespective of provincial origin, while provincial politics is concerned primarily with the issues and problems of significance only to those Canadians within its provincial boundaries. Thus whereas the provincial boundary is an important political factor in the sphere of provincial politics it is much less significant in federal politics.

ADDITIONAL POLITICAL FACTORS INFLUENCED BY THE PROVINCIAL BOUNDARY

In addition to the impact of the boundary on the voting patterns of the study area, there are also other factors of a political nature which are influenced by the boundary.

It has already been pointed out that as a direct result of the boundary the City of Lloydminster supports not four, but eight political parties. This situation leads to a duplication of party structure and organization, results in a poor distribution of funds and presents a two-fold problem in drafting qualified candidates. It also places the city in the unfavorable position of being unable to present a united political front, particularly with respect to provincial affairs, even if both sectors should be represented by members of the same political party.

Although they may not admit it in public the two party organizations of the same political affiliation often differ with each other over methods of solving various problems facing the community, or the party. Alberta

Liberals for instance, strongly oppose the way Mr. Thatcher has handled the sales tax issue in Lloydminster,³⁷ while Saskatchewan N.D.P. members are somewhat disgusted with their poorly organized Alberta compatriots, who have never won a seat in Lloydminster.

Another aspect directly related to the political division of Lloydminster, is the duplication of political advertisements which the citizens of Lloydminster and area must tolerate. While this is not a serious problem it is a nuisance. All of the communication media, including C.K.S.A. radio and television, and the Lloydminster Booster and the Lloydminster Times, serve a large area on both sides of the border and are therefore committed to provide complete coverage of the provincial elections in each province, as well as the federal election in both federal constituencies. This means that residents of a province which is not in an election campaign are subjected to political broadcasts and slogans, intended only for residents in the neighboring province. Similarly in the case of federal elections, residents of both provinces must listen to the political speeches of candidates for which they cannot vote.

SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed the impact of the provincial boundary on the civic, provincial, and federal political functions of the City of Lloydminster and its surrounding area. It has tried to analyze, interpret and evaluate the effects this impact has had on the two parts

³⁷The sales tax issue will be discussed in detail in the section on Commercial Functions in Chapter V.

of the study area. It is evident from the discussion in the three major sections of this chapter that the provincial boundary has had a much greater impact upon the civic and provincial political functions of the study area, than on the federal political functions. This may be attributed to the fact that the provincial boundary appears to be much more relevant to the people of Lloydminster in the sphere of civic and provincial politics than in the broader framework of federal politics. In the latter case the provincial boundary serves almost the same function as that attributed to any boundary separating two federal constituencies.

CHAPTER V

THE EFFECT OF THE BOUNDARY ON THE ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF LLOYDMINSTER

Although the influence of the provincial boundary is experienced by all the major functions of the study area, its greatest impact is exerted on those of the economic community. This chapter will discuss some of the economic problems which confront the community. In order to describe this impact more clearly, the chapter has been divided into three sections, on agricultural, commercial, and industrial functions, to allow a more detailed discussion of the effects of the border on each of these economic sectors.

THE AGRICULTURAL FUNCTIONS OF THE STUDY AREA

The economic prosperity of Lloydminster has depended almost entirely upon its agricultural hinterland. During the early precarious years of its existence the inexperienced settlers depended mainly on grain production for their source of income, particularly a variety commonly known as "Number One Hard."¹ As agricultural experience developed, the colonists gradually switched to mixed-farming operations, thereby slowly improving the standard of living in the Lloydminster area.

Today, more than sixty years later, the Lloydminster area has developed into a thriving mixed-farming region. With some of the

¹J.H. McCormick, Lloydminster - Or 5,000 Miles With the Barr Colonists, London, [n.d.], pp. 224-25.

most fertile and productive soils on the prairies (see Chapter II), the entire district has become one of the richest grain growing regions in Western Canada. In recent years the area has also become a major cattle producing district, possessing some of the top pure-bred herds of Western Canada.²

Table VII not only presents an overall view of the agricultural situation in the Lloydminster area, but also reveals some of the changes taking place in the agricultural land use of the study area.³ One of the most significant factors affecting the agricultural economy is the strong trend towards farm consolidation. This trend is reflected in the rapid growth of the size of the average farm, from 614.3 acres in 1956 to 702.7 acres in 1961, an increase of 14.4 percent. It is also reflected in the decrease in farm population from 14,392 in 1956 to 12,128 in 1961, a decline of 15.7 percent, and by the rapid process of mechanization as indicated by the growing number of machines and the increased use of electrical power.

Accompanying this trend towards consolidation is the overall increase in the acreage classified as improved land, and crop land.

²Pers. Comm. with Mr. R.J. Brassard, P. Ag., Government of Saskatchewan Agricultural Representative, Lloydminster, November 8, 1967.

³The statistics in Table VII refer to the area comprised of the Alberta County of Vermilion River (71), and the Saskatchewan Rural Municipalities of Eldon (471), Wilton (472), Frenchman Butte (501), and Britannia (502). As this area is much larger than the study area, it has a greater distribution of soil and climatic conditions, resulting in greater crop variation. This table is used primarily to indicate a trend in the agricultural land use of the study area.

TABLE VII

CHANGES IN THE AGRICULTURAL LAND USE
OF THE LLOYDMINSTER AREA⁴

	1956		1961		Change	
	Acres	%	Acres	%	Acres	%
Total Farm Land	2,258,396	100.0	2,307,549	100.0	+49,153	+ 2.2
Improved Land	1,224,666	54.2	1,295,378	56.1	+70,712	+ 5.8
Crop Land	765,236	62.5	776,537	59.9	+11,349	+ 1.5
Wheat	305,428	39.9	356,451	45.8	+51,023	+ 16.7
Oats	191,349	25.0	149,032	19.2	-42,317	- 22.1
Barley	175,035	22.9	82,023	10.6	-93,012	- 53.1
Rye	4,446	0.6	5,336	0.7	+ 890	+ 20.0
Rapeseed	-----	0.0	37,931	4.9	+37,931	+100.0
Pasture Land	41,067	3.4	57,751	4.5	+16,684	+ 40.6
Average farm size	614.3		702.7		+ 88.4	+ 14.4
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Livestock						
Cattle	114,141		140,731		+26,590	+ 23.3
Pigs	46,366		50,630		+ 4,264	+ 9.2
Sheep	6,040		10,268		+ 4,228	+ 70.0
Farm Population	14,392		12,128		- 2,264	- 15.7
Number of farms	3,682		3,294		- 388	- 10.5
Mechanization						
Tractors	4,335		4,559		+ 224	+ 5.2
Grain Combines	1,752		2,012		+ 260	+ 14.8

Source:

"Agriculture". Census of Canada, 1956, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Tables 15, 16, 17.

"Agriculture". Census of Canada, 1961, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Tables 28, 29, 30.

⁴A more detailed form of this table is found in Appendix IV.

Wheat production for example, showed an increase of 51.023 acres or 16.7 percent, while rye and rapeseed showed gains of 20.0 and 100.0 percent respectively. At the same time there has also been a 23.3 percent increase in cattle production. This increase is evidenced by a 62.4 percent increase in the tame hay acreage. Table VIII clearly shows the increase in the production of various livestock categories in the Lloydminster area, both in volume as well as in value.

TABLE VIII

LIVESTOCK VOLUME AND VALUE - LLOYDMINSTER STOCKYARDS
1957-1966

Year	Cattle	Calves	Hogs	Sheep	Horses	Total	Value
1957	34,551	4,516	3,988	905	314	44,274	4,674,490.69
1960	21,553	5,945	1,495	1,614	135	30,742	3,898,582.88
1963	49,115	9,199	2,490	1,822	154	62,780	10,385,067.60
1966	83,372	15,578	6,115	1,695	658	107,418	18,779,444.13

Source:

Mr. E.J. Grunert, Office Manager, Weiller and Williams (Lloyd) Ltd., Lloydminster, Saskatchewan, September 12, 1967.

It can be concluded that the agricultural land use pattern in the Lloydminster region, as in the rest of the prairies, is experiencing rapid changes, particularly with respect to farm consolidation. This trend is the result of improved technology and is reflected by larger, more mechanized farms, with an increasing emphasis towards specialization in wheat and cattle. The result has been an increase in the average

wheat yield from 20.0 bushels an acre to 23.8 bushels an acre during the last decade.⁵

A COMPARISON OF THE AGRICULTURAL PATTERNS OF THE ALBERTA AND SASKATCHEWAN SECTORS OF THE STUDY AREA

In comparison with the striking contrast which occurs between the two land use patterns along the Alberta-Montana international boundary (Fig. 8) the rural land patterns along the Alberta-Saskatchewan boundary in the study area seem rather insignificant (Fig. 9). A close analysis of the Agricultural Land Use Map of the study area (Fig. 10), indicates that the agricultural land use patterns on each side of the provincial boundary are very similar. The landscape in both sectors shows the same field patterns, based on the sectional grid system. The farmers on either side produce the same crops, raise the same livestock, operate farms of similar size, live in the same type of houses and use the same type of barn.

The discrepancy between these two border landscapes is primarily the result of the difference in the relative importance of the two types of boundaries, the former being an international boundary and the latter a provincial one. The most significant difference is the fact that the federal government exerts a much stronger impact on the agricultural landscape than any provincial government. Farmer preferences for certain agricultural products are determined by the agricultural policies

⁵Don Sylvester, "Farmers At Lloydminster Said 'Broke' Most of Time". The Edmonton Journal, Wednesday, March 1, 1967, p. 77. Unfortunately no farm income statistics are available.

**A Visual Comparison of the Agricultural Land
Use Patterns along the Alberta - Montana
International Boundary, on the Milk River
in South - Eastern Alberta.**



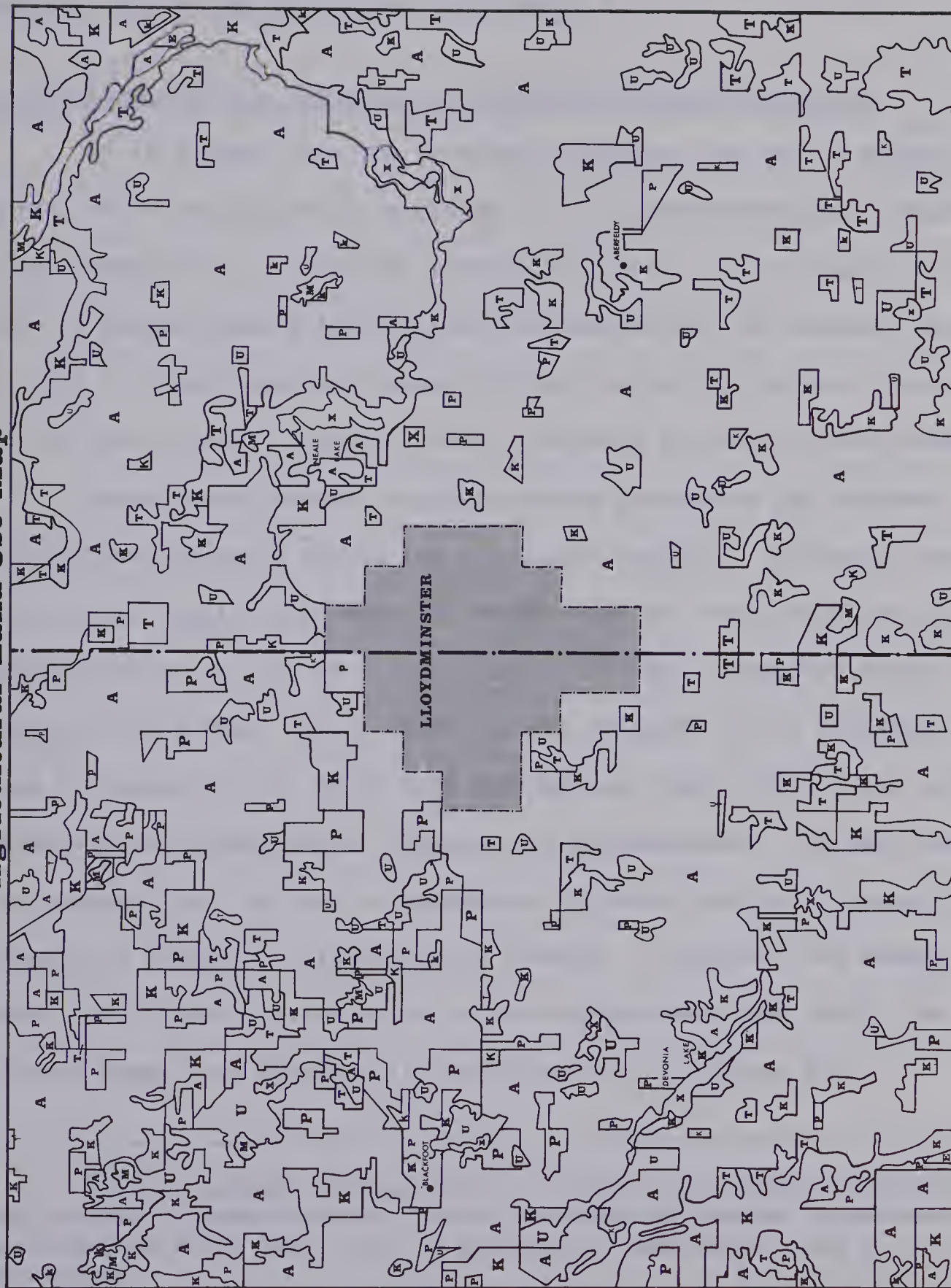
Source: Technical Division, Department of Lands and Forests, Government of Alberta.

**A Visual Comparison of the Agricultural Land
Use Patterns along the Alberta - Saskatchewan
Provincial Boundary in the Study Area.**



Source: Technical Division, Department of Lands and Forests, Government of Alberta.

Agricultural Land Use Map



Source: A.R.D.A. - Present Land Use Inventory

FIG. 10

LEGEND: A CROPLAND P IMPROVED PASTURE K UNIMPROVED PASTURE U SHRUBS T TREES M MARSH X OPEN WATER E MINING & QUARRYING

of the federal government, based on prices established on the world markets, not by the provincial governments.⁶

The Influence of the Boundary on Crop and Livestock Production

It is evident that the provincial boundary has only a minimal effect on the agricultural functions of the Lloydminster area. Based on field observation and personal communication with the Provincial Government of Saskatchewan's Agricultural Representative, the boundary appears to have no significant detrimental effects on the agricultural economy of the study area.⁷ This is clearly indicated by the following examples.

There are at present no restrictions preventing the movement of agricultural products across the provincial boundary. Although there are certain regulations under the Wheat Board Act which stipulate that grain products may not be moved across provincial boundaries without the consent of the Wheat Board, these are not enforced in the Lloydminster area.⁸ Farmers in the study area may deliver their crops to any elevator, privately or co-operatively operated, in Lloydminster. The only impact the boundary has, is that it determines in which provincial sector the respective Wheat Pool elevators are located. Therefore, the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool Elevator is situated on the Saskatchewan side, while the Alberta Wheat Pool Elevator is restricted to the Alberta side.

⁶Except perhaps through direct consultation between Provincial and Federal representatives. Prices are also influenced by substantial farm lobbies which exist both in provincial legislatures and in parliament.

⁷Pers. Comm., R.J. Brassard, op. cit.

⁸Loc. cit. Unfortunately Mr. Brassard did not reveal why this is not done.

As these two Wheat Pools are separate co-operative organizations they pay different dividends. The Alberta Wheat Pool dividends were five cents a bushel, of which two and a half cents is cash, while the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool dividends were two and a half cents a bushel, of which one and a quarter cents was cash.⁹ It must be added, however, that the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool, instead of paying out their dividends in cash, has been allocating the dividends to the farmers who earned them as well as retaining some of the money for use in its capital expansion program.¹⁰

Similarly no restrictions prevent the shipping of livestock across the provincial boundary. The Weiller and Williams Stockyards, located in the Saskatchewan sector of Lloydminster, handles large volumes of livestock originating on both sides of the border.¹¹ In fact restrictions are so few, that a number of farmers own or lease land on both sides of the boundary without encountering any serious problems, except perhaps a slight difference in property taxes.¹²

While there are no major differences between the types of crops and livestock raised on the respective sides of the border, there are significant variations in the proportion of the different types of production. These, as well as other differences, are readily apparent in a comparison of the statistics presented in Appendix V.

⁹Pers. Comm. with several farmers on both sides of the border, August, 1967.

¹⁰Pers. Comm., R.J. Brassard, op. cit.

¹¹Pers. Comm. with Mr. L.P. Bromham of Weiller and Williams (Lloyd) Ltd., on August 23, 1967.

¹²Tax assessment will be discussed further on in this section.

Alberta farms are smaller and more diversified than their Saskatchewan counterparts. This is reflected in the figures representing the various types of crop production. While wheat is undoubtedly the major crop in both provinces, it is more significant in Saskatchewan, although the percentage increase between 1956 and 1961 was much greater in Alberta. Oats and barley are more predominant in Alberta and the percentage of land devoted to these crops did not decrease as rapidly as it did in Saskatchewan. Similarly, while Alberta farmers sharply increased their rye acreage, Saskatchewan farmers decreased the acreage used for this crop. The growing demand for rapeseed, for use as oil and feed, is indicated by the steady increase of acreage in this crop, particularly in Saskatchewan.

Livestock production is also more prominent on Alberta farms. Even though both provincial sectors experienced almost an equal increase in cattle production over the five year period, the land in cultivated pasture showed a much greater increase in Alberta. This contrast is quite evident on the Agricultural Land Use Map of the study area. It is interesting to note however, that over this same period Saskatchewan farms showed a greater increase in the production of tame hay. Perhaps this is an indication of the different emphasis placed upon cattle production in the two provinces with Alberta farmers preferring to graze their cattle while Saskatchewan farmers prefer to feed their stock in feed lots.

Although the trend towards farm consolidation is evident on both sides of the boundary, it appears to be more significant in Saskatchewan. This is indicated by the higher percentage increase in both, total farm

land and average farm size, as well as a more rapid decline in the total rural population.

These conclusions appear to be contradicted to some extent by the writer's own field survey of the agricultural functions of the study area, as the following tables seem to indicate.

TABLE IX

A COMPARISON OF THE MAIN CROPS AND LIVESTOCK
PRODUCED BY FARMS IN THE STUDY AREA

Main Crop						Main Livestock				
	Wheat	Oats	Bar- ley	Rape- seed	No. of Farms	Beef	Dairy	Hogs	None	No. of Farms
Alta.	12	0	0	0	12	6	2	2	2	12
Sask.	9	2	1	1	13	7	3	1	2	13

Source:

Questionnaire survey by the author in August, 1967.

TABLE X
AN AGRICULTURAL COMPARISON OF THE STUDY AREA

	Alberta		Saskatchewan	
	Acres	%	Acres	%
Total farm land	14,587		15,000	
Improved land	10,945	75.0	12,333	82.0
Unimproved land	3,642	25.0	2,667	18.0
Improved land	10,945		12,333	
Cropland	6,582	60.1	7,248	58.8
Summer Fallow	3,892	35.6	4,390	35.6
Pasture	471	4.3	695	5.6
Average farm size	1,215.6		1,153.9	
Ownership	916.6	75.4	1,067.7	92.5
Rented	299.0	24.6	86.2	7.5

Source:

Questionnaire survey by the author in August, 1967.¹³

¹³The questionnaire survey on which these tables are based consisted of personal interviews, conducted by the author, of 25 farmers, 12 of which farmed on the Alberta side and 13 of which farmed on the Saskatchewan side of the provincial boundary. A more detailed description of the procedure used to conduct this survey is found in Appendix I.

A. COMPARISON OF THE VARIOUS CROPS AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCED BY FARMS IN THE STUDY AREA -- IN ORDER OF THEIR IMPORTANCE

Source:

81

The statistics presented by these tables reveal several interesting variations from those of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.¹⁴ While there is a close similarity between the figures for cropland, summer fallow, and pasture, there is a much higher percentage of improved land in the study area than in the larger Census Sub-division areas. The most striking difference, however, occurs between the figures relating to the average farm size. Not only do the D.B.S. figures show a much smaller average size farm than do those of the study area, but they also show a reversal in the size ratio of the two sectors. Whereas the D.B.S. statistics indicate a larger average farm size in Saskatchewan, the study area figures present the opposite situation. It would seem that within the study area the Saskatchewan, rather than the Alberta farms are the smaller and more diversified units.

In order to explain the contrast between these two sets of statistics several points must be considered. The area represented by the D.B.S. statistics is much larger, and therefore more diversified than the study area. In addition there has undoubtedly been a considerable increase in the average farm size as the trend towards consolidation continued during the six year period separating the two surveys. Finally, the vast wheat agreements signed with Communist China, the Soviet Union, Japan and other countries during the early 1960's almost certainly led to an increased emphasis on wheat production particularly on Alberta farms.

¹⁴Hereafter referred to in its abbreviated form of D.B.S.

The Influence of the Boundary on Additional Agricultural Factors

In addition to its impact upon the crop and livestock production of the study area, the boundary also influences various other agricultural factors. A significant proportion of agricultural respondents indicated that a slight variation in tax assessment existed between the two sectors. Forty percent of the farmers, on both sides of the boundary, stated that the tax assessment of the Saskatchewan farms was lower than that of Alberta farms. This is supported by the following statistics.¹⁵ The average assessments of agricultural land for the Rural Municipalities of Wilton and Britannia, Saskatchewan was \$14.11 and \$12.79 per acre respectively in 1965. The assessment for agricultural land in the County of Vermilion River, Alberta for the same year was \$16.62 per acre.¹⁶ This gives an average Saskatchewan assessment of \$13.44 compared to an Alberta assessment of \$16.62 or a difference of \$3.18 per acre.

The majority of these farmers however, were convinced that although Alberta farmers paid higher taxes than their Saskatchewan neighbors they also received better services from the municipality, including road grading, gravelling and snow plowing.¹⁷ In one case, when Highway No. 17 astride the boundary was being widened, the fence posts along the road had to be removed. The Alberta farmers received

¹⁵City of Lloydminster Annexation Hearings Before the Joint Committee of the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, January 28, 1966, pp. 362-365, 395, 426.

¹⁶These assessment averages are based on the agricultural land which was included in the original annexation proposals of 1965.

¹⁷The author can attest to the truth of these statements from his own experience.

new fence posts free of charge, to replace those which were removed, whereas the Saskatchewan farmers received only one free fence post out of every four, having to pay for the remaining three themselves!¹⁸

Each province has its own crop insurance program which differs in some respects. The Province of Saskatchewan has not operated a crop insurance program in the Lloydminster area, but the government agricultural representative felt that this was not a serious problem and that very little attention was paid to it by the farmers.¹⁹

Saskatchewan farmers are required to pay considerably more in provincial taxes than their Alberta neighbors. There is a provincial sales tax of five percent on all new cars, trucks, and houses, even if the purchase is made in Alberta.²⁰ Farm machinery is however exempt. In addition to the sales tax Saskatchewan farmers must pay six and a half percent more in provincial income tax (1967), as well as slightly higher prices for bulk fuels and propane, but electric power, which is publicly owned, is considerably cheaper in Saskatchewan.

SUMMARY

In summary, the agricultural land use patterns on both sides of the provincial boundary are experiencing rapid changes related to farm

¹⁸Pers. Comm. with two farmers in the Lloydminster area.

¹⁹Pers. Comm., R.J. Brassard, op. cit. This may be due to the fact that the Lloydminster area is not within one of the major hail tracts and crop damage resulting from hail would therefore be very unusual. Pers. Comm. with Mr. Alec. Paul, University of Alberta Meteorological expert on hail patterns in Alberta, June 3, 1969.

²⁰The sales tax will be discussed in more detail in the section on commercial functions.

consolidation. The boundary has only a minimal effect on the agricultural functions of the study area. Its greatest impact can be observed in the variations in the proportion of the different types of production. Even these however, are of relatively minor importance, and it is doubtful whether these differences can be attributed to the boundary. The division of the study area into two sectors has also resulted in contrasting levels of taxation, both in property tax assessment and personal taxation.

COMMERCIAL FUNCTIONS

There is almost unanimous concensus among Lloydminster residents that the provincial boundary exerts its greatest impact on the commercial sector of the economy.²¹ This section will discuss some of the problems created by the division of the commercial district of Lloydminster.

THE COMMERCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY AREA

The early commercial development of the Lloydminster area was briefly described in Chapter III. From an inauspicious beginning the small commercial core of the new community grew steadily until the depression of the 1930's. For almost two decades commercial growth stagnated until the oil discovery of the late 1940's revived the sagging economy. Since that time commercial development in the city has increased steadily, particularly in the last few years. This expansion is reflected in the number, as well as the value of commercial building permits issued.

²¹This statement is based on the personal communication of the author with many people in Lloydminster.

Eighteen permits valued at \$304,350 were granted in 1965 and 22 permits valued at \$803,995 in 1966.²²

In 1966 Lloydminster supported a total of 85 retail establishments (including stores, service stations and restaurants) employing 626 employees,²³ who earned an average annual salary of \$3,544.00.²⁴ In addition to these retailing firms in Lloydminster there are 30 other establishments employing 490 persons, which provide medical, legal, education and financial services to the public.²⁵

Total retail trade rose from \$10,440,000 in 1961 to \$18,825,700 in 1966, an increase of 80.3 percent.²⁶ There was also a considerable expansion of the Central Business District, from 6,500 linear feet of commercial frontage in 1961 to 10,543 linear feet in 1967.²⁷ This is the result of the establishment of new stores as well as the expansion of existing firms.

Today the commercial function of Lloydminster is two-fold, serving as the market centre for the surrounding rural area, as well as the city's growing industrial community. This is substantiated by the type, size and quality of the various commercial establishments in the city.

²²Urban Renewal Study - City of Lloydminster, Makale, Holloway and Associates Ltd., Edmonton, July, 1968, p. 72.

²³Pers. Comm. with Mrs. D.M. Kuehn, Secretary-Manager, Lloydminster Chamber of Commerce, October 24, 1967.

²⁴Based on a return of 26 completed questionnaires out of a sample of 31 of the 85 retail establishments in the city.

²⁵Pers. Comm., D.M. Kuehn, op. cit.

²⁶Loc. cit.

²⁷Urban Renewal Study - City of Lloydminster, op. cit., p. 19.

The majority of merchandise supplied by Lloydminster retailers can be categorized as consumer goods, with a strong emphasis on food, clothing, household appliances, and furniture, as well as farm implement dealers and hardware stores.

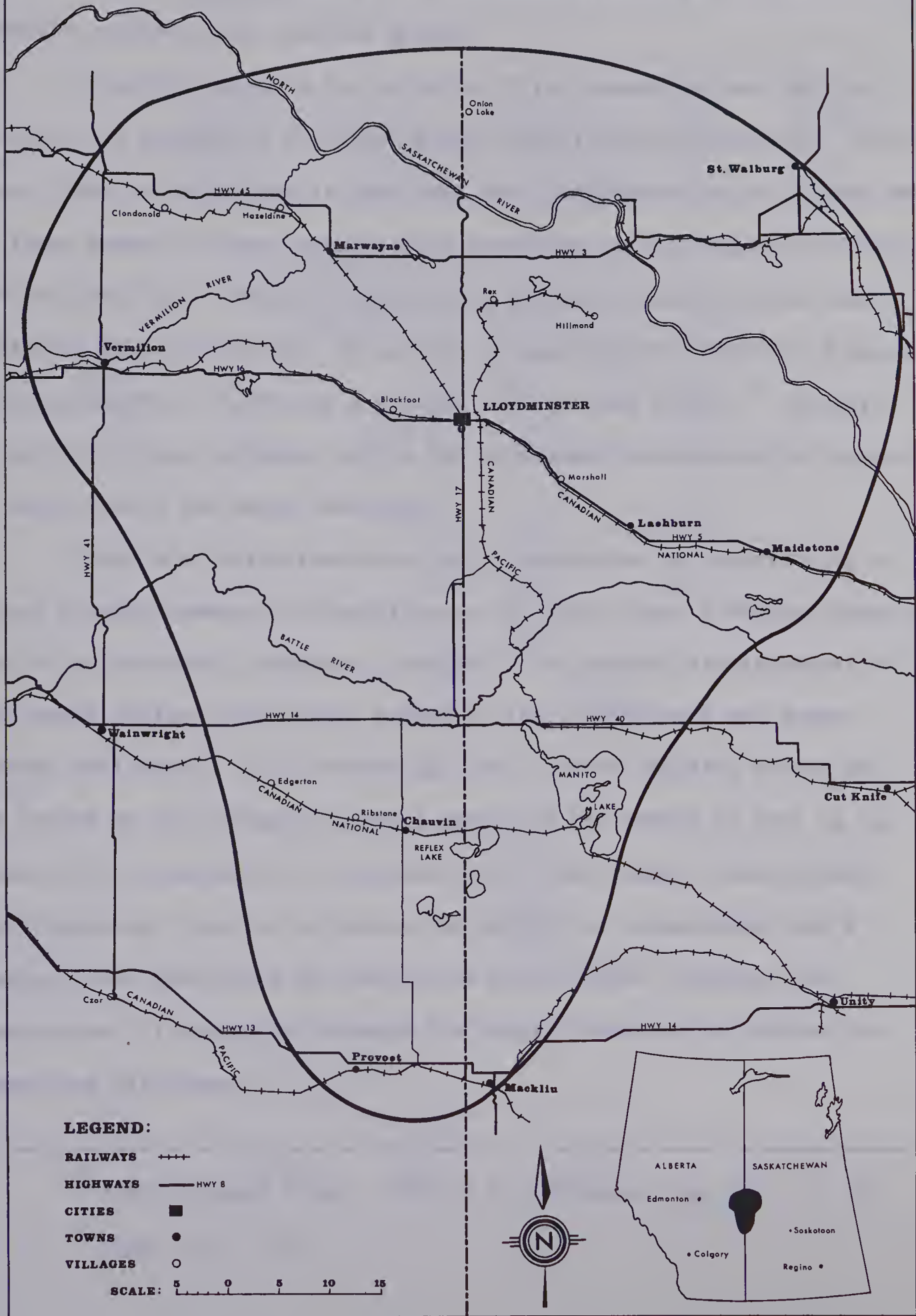
In addition to its own citizens the city's business community also serves a small but stable trading area, extending roughly 40 miles north, 50 miles east, 70 miles south, and 50 miles west, with a population of 28,414 people in 1966 (Fig. 11).²⁸ The size of this trading area is influenced by several factors.²⁹ Its eastern and western extension is limited by the competition from North Battleford, and St. Paul and Vegreville respectively, and to a certain extent Edmonton and Saskatoon as well. A second factor is the quantity and quality of the commercial facilities and goods provided by the business community. The influence exerted by the local television and radio stations, and to a lesser extent by the two newspapers, is also very important. These media, through their advertising campaigns of local firms, events, and personalities help to identify the surrounding area with the City of Lloydminster.³⁰ Finally, the recent growth of Lloydminster as a live-stock shipping center has attracted farmers from a wide area and thus helped to expand the city's trade area. In the final analysis, however, all these factors relate directly to the willingness of the people of

²⁸Ibid., p. 8.

²⁹City of Lloydminster - Planning Report, D.L. Makale, M.T.P.I.C., Edmonton, 1961, pp. 15-16.

³⁰Pers. Comm. with Mr. A. Shortell, Manager, C.K.S.A. Radio and C.K.S.A. Television Stations, August 22, 1967. This impact is also apparent by listening, viewing, or reading these particular media.

Lloydminster: Trading Area



the surrounding area to travel the necessary distance to Lloydminster in order to obtain their required goods.

Generally speaking the majority of the commercial and service outlets are located in the core of the Central Business District. However, many of the stores in this area were constructed prior to 1930 and a large number of these premises are beginning to show signs of deterioration (Fig. 12). Makale found that 64 percent of these stores were assessed more than \$8,000, 20 percent between \$4,000 - \$8,000, 12 percent between \$2,000 - \$4,000 and 4 percent at less than \$2,000.³¹ He also found that these buildings with a low assessment were generally those of a sub-standard and older condition.

There are indications also that Lloydminster is experiencing a trend towards commercial consolidation.³² This trend, like that observed in the agricultural community, results in the gradual displacements of the small variety and grocery stores by large department and super-market facilities. It is occurring also in other Canadian cities and is caused by the changing shopping habits of the public as well as the desire of the merchants to increase their trade volume. While people are demanding a greater selection and variety of commodities, and a larger floor space area per person for more relaxed shopping, the entrepreneur is trying to increase his retail trade and to improve his operating efficiency.

³¹Urban Renewal Study - City of Lloydminster, op. cit., p. 79.

³²Ibid., pp. 78-79.



FIGURE 12



0 300 feet

COMMERCIAL BUILDING CONDITIONS AND AGE

Lloydminster Alberta - Saskatchewan

LEGEND:



GOOD



POOR



FAIR



BUILT BEFORE 1930

Source:
Mokole, Holloway & Assoc. Ltd

THE EFFECT OF THE PROVINCIAL BOUNDARY ON THE
COMMERCIAL FUNCTIONS OF LLOYDMINSTER

The Saskatchewan Provincial Sales Tax

The single most important factor affecting the commercial functions of Lloydminster's business community, is the five percent sales tax levied on most purchases by the Saskatchewan provincial government. The tax is primarily a health and education tax and is collected on all consumer goods, ranging from automobiles to household appliances, clothing and liquor, but not on farm machinery or restaurant meals below \$2.00.³³ This sales tax has been a handicap to the Lloydminster business community ever since its implementation by the former C.C.F. government of Saskatchewan. Field interviews indicated that Saskatchewan merchants were extremely aware of its disadvantages for their business, many objecting vigorously to it. If they were forced by political or other means to collect this sales tax on all purchases made by Saskatchewan residents, their customers would simply turn around and walk across the street to make their purchases tax free from the vendors on the Alberta side. The following examples illustrate their problem. The Marshall Wells store on the Saskatchewan side, and the Macleod store on the Alberta side, are owned by the same parent company. They sell the same products such as ranges, refrigerators, and freezers, but under different trade names. Assuming that the retail prices are equal, the Saskatchewan outlet would be forced to collect \$20.00 more on a \$400.00 item. The

³³The sales tax is under constant review and has been revised several times. For example it was levied at 5% in 1964, the new government reduced it to 4% and it has since been increased again to 5%. Items covered under the tax may also change from year to year.

prices charged for grocery products by stores in either sector of Lloydminster are basically the same (Table XII). If, however, Saskatchewan merchants were forced to collect a five percent sales tax, the additional costs would place them at a competitive disadvantage.

TABLE XII

A COMPARATIVE SAMPLE OF CONSUMER PRICES IN THE
TWO SECTORS OF THE CITY OF LLOYDMINSTER

Products	Saskatchewan				Alberta	
	Co-op	I.G.A.	Safeway	O.K.	Matheson	North End
1 lb. hamburger	.65	.65	.69	.69	.69	.65
1 head of lettuce	.34	.29	.33	.29	.29	.30
1 lb. butter	.73	.73	.73	.73	.73	.74
1 lb. bananas	.25	.23	.25	.25	.25	.25
10 lb. sugar	1.09	1.09	1.09	1.09	1.09	1.09
1 bottle (24 oz.) Crisco Oil	.85	.79	.85	.85	.85	.87
1 box Tide (2 lbs.)	1.09	--	1.09	1.09	1.09	1.09

Source:

Sample survey conducted by the author in April of 1967.

* The I.G.A. store has relocated in the Alberta sector since this survey was taken.

One must also see the problem from the provincial government's point of view. After imposing this tax on the people of Saskatchewan, the C.C.F. government gradually ignored collecting the tax in the Lloydminster area in fear of a political backlash. The Treasury

Department did collect the tax on all purchases of new motor vehicles, as one of the requirements of licensing was evidence that the sales tax had been paid. Sales tax was also collected on any liquor sold by the government operated liquor vendor on the Saskatchewan side of the city, as well as on all electricity consumed by Saskatchewan residents. In addition, token payments were received from Saskatchewan business men on purchases of business and office equipment required to operate their firms.³⁴

With the change in government administration in 1964, this policy was suddenly altered, on the premise that Lloydminster area residents should not receive preferential tax treatment in relation to other Saskatchewan residents, who are required to pay full taxes for the services provided by the government. Thus the new administration began enforcing the collection of the sales tax.

One of the first steps undertaken by the Treasury Department was to institute road checks along the border. It was felt this would aid in gathering information on purchases of major items by Saskatchewan residents from Alberta merchants, as Saskatchewan has no legal jurisdiction to collect the sales tax from merchants registered in Alberta. The information obtained from these road checks enabled the Saskatchewan government to assess and collect the necessary taxes from the Saskatchewan residents who made the purchases. This action produced the political backlash which the C.C.F. government had so desperately tried to avoid. "Lloydminster Fears a 'Berlin Wall' in Crackdown on Sales Tax Evasion,"

³⁴Pers. Comm. with Mr. A.T. Wakabayashi, Deputy Provincial Treasurer, Province of Saskatchewan, July 18, 1967.

said a headline in the Edmonton Journal which goes on to state:

Six plainclothes policemen are reported cruising the streets of this border town conducting spot checks of shoppers suspected of tax evasion. The policemen are carrying out government instruction to enforce the Saskatchewan sales and tobacco tax regulations, which Lloydminster residents are said to have been avoiding by crossing the street and shopping on the Alberta side of town.³⁵

It did not take the government long to realize that spot checking was not the solution to Lloydminster's tax problems, for these road checks could never hope to catch all the "illegal" purchases made by the Saskatchewan residents. The government felt however, that these checks had the salutary effect of making vendors on both sides of the provincial boundary realize that they had some responsibility for collecting the sales tax.³⁶ As a result, a committee of representatives from the Saskatchewan sector of the Lloydminster business community negotiated with the Saskatchewan Provincial Treasurer and Treasury Department and a compromise solution was reached. This agreement required Alberta merchants to keep records, and to make available information to the Saskatchewan Treasury Department, on all sales of taxable items in excess of \$100.00, which were made by Saskatchewan residents in their stores.

There was considerable difficulty, however, in implementing this agreement as Alberta merchants claimed that they were never a party to this agreement and refused to co-operate. But agreement was reached with respect to collecting the sales tax on all houses and buildings constructed in Lloydminster and its surrounding area.³⁷

³⁵The Edmonton Journal, Saturday, May 21, 1966, p. 1

³⁶Pers. Comm., A.T. Wakabayashi, op. cit.

³⁷Loc. cit.

In a final effort to obtain co-operation, Premier Ross Thatcher withheld the \$50.00 home-owner grant from residents in the Lloydminster and adjacent area to compensate for the loss of sales tax revenue. After several meetings between Lloydminster citizens and the premier, this situation was finally resolved, and the home-owners received their \$50.00 bonus in 1967.

Realistically, in the final analysis, there are only a few solutions to the taxation problem. The ultimate solution is the imposition of a similar sales tax by the Alberta Government. This would eliminate any competitive disadvantage to the Saskatchewan businessman, but the Saskatchewan Government feels that this would be politically unacceptable, both to the Alberta Government, and the Alberta residents of Lloydminster.³⁸

A second possibility, which also appears to be politically unacceptable, has been effectively carried out by the City of Bristol, located on the border between the states of Virginia and Tennessee. Tennessee imposes a state sales tax but Virginia does not. An arrangement was made whereby the City of Bristol, Virginia, agreed to levy a city sales tax on merchandise sold on the Virginia side of the city, at the same rate as the Tennessee sales tax, in order to place all vendors in the city on the same competitive basis. This seems to have worked effectively and could be applied in theory to the Lloydminster situation. However, Alberta merchants have refused to accept a city sales tax, claiming that this would result in a loss of business to Alberta

³⁸Loc. cit.

vendors located in nearby settlements outside of the city limits of Lloydminster.³⁹

A third solution, very familiar to the first proposal discussed on page 92, was recently agreed upon by the Finance Ministers of Ontario and Quebec to solve the sales tax problems in Hull-Ottawa. This requires the merchants on each side of the border to record and report sales made to residents of the other provinces.⁴⁰

The Saskatchewan government has been trying to achieve a settlement of this problem through informal consultation with the various groups involved, Lloydminster merchants, city officials, and Alberta government representatives. If these efforts should fail, the Saskatchewan administration feels that it only has one recourse, which is to institute road checks on all deliveries made into Saskatchewan. This could be made more effective by refusing to license Alberta delivery trucks unless the sales tax is collected on all taxable items, or alternatively to make a record which is available to the Taxation Branch, of all deliveries made to Saskatchewan citizens.⁴¹

At present the sales tax problem is dormant, and Saskatchewan merchants prefer to keep it that way. They do not like to discuss the situation and feel the less said about it the better. The Saskatchewan government has left the responsibility for payment of the tax squarely on the shoulders of the shopping public. Customers can either pay the tax to the store at the time of purchase, or mail it directly to the

³⁹Loc. cit.

⁴⁰Loc. cit.

⁴¹Loc. cit.

provincial government. The following warning, issued by the Provincial government of Saskatchewan, is clearly visible in almost all of the Saskatchewan retail outlets:

Notice to Saskatchewan Residents:

Failure to pay the education tax could result in a

1. Fine of \$10.00 to \$500.00
2. Conviction
3. Forced payment of tax

Persons are held responsible for six years after the original purchase.

While this puts the onus directly on the customer, the problem is far from being solved. This fact is substantiated in no uncertain terms by the results of the survey the writer conducted in the study area. Of the 19 Saskatchewan firms which answered the commercial questionnaire, none collected the sales tax on their own initiation. Fourteen of them do not collect the tax at all, four collect it only if the customer volunteers to pay the tax himself, while the last firm, an automobile dealer, must collect the tax, as proof of the tax payment is a prerequisite for the purchase of license plates.

When these same firms were asked whether the imposition of the sales tax had resulted in some of their customers shopping on the Alberta side the following answers were obtained: Yes - seven, No - eight, No Opinion - three, Not Applicable - one (Car dealer). When the reverse form of this question, whether the imposition of the sales tax had increased the number of Saskatchewan customers shopping on the Alberta side, was asked of the 12 Alberta firms interviewed the results were as

follows: Yes - six, No - four, No Opinion - one, Not Applicable - one (only store of its type in Lloydminster).

In reply to the question if they would favour the unification of Lloydminster under the jurisdiction of one province, the following breakdown occurred:

TABLE XIII
BREAKDOWN OF PROVINCIAL PREFERENCE -
LLOYDMINSTER MERCHANTS

	Store Location	
	Alberta	Saskatchewan
Yes	7	9
No	3	4
No Opinion	2	6
<u>Province Preferred</u>		
Alberta	10	6
Saskatchewan	0	4
No Opinion	2	9

Source:

Questionnaire survey by author in summer of 1967.

None of the firms located in Alberta showed any desire to be affiliated with Saskatchewan, but six Saskatchewan firms would like to be in Alberta, with only four preferring to remain in Saskatchewan. A very high number were undecided.

Additional Factors Influenced by the Boundary

While the above discussion indicates that the sales tax presents a very real problem to the Lloydminster business community, it is most certainly not the only problem which may be attributed to the presence of the provincial boundary. One of these is the tobacco tax, which is a 10 percent tax levied by the Saskatchewan government on all tobacco products sold by Saskatchewan merchants. The same type of problem exists in collecting this tax as with the sales tax. Retail outlets dealing in tobacco products refuse to collect the tax from their customers, preferring to pay the government out of their own pockets. In some instances store owners who have been fined for refusal to collect and pay the tobacco tax, have threatened to take the issue, if necessary, to the Supreme Court of Canada.⁴²

Another problem which occurs is related to the supply of various commodities to franchised dealers. For instance electrical supplies for franchised dealers registered in Alberta can be obtained at lower prices from Alberta suppliers than Saskatchewan dealers can obtain them from Saskatchewan suppliers.⁴³ This is the result of transportation costs. It may be illustrated best by the following situation. Goods such as Honda motor bicycles, are shipped from the manufacturer in Japan to Vancouver, and from there to the various regional distribution centres. Since Winnipeg is the distribution centre for both Manitoba and Saskatchewan, the Hondas are first shipped from Vancouver to Winnipeg,

⁴²The Edmonton Journal, Saturday, May 21, 1966, p. 1.

⁴³Pers. Comm. with several electrical retail and repair shop dealers in Lloydminster.

and from there back to the Lloydminster dealers. It so happens that Vancouver is the distribution centre for both British Columbia and Alberta. Thus the Honda dealer on the Alberta side of the boundary receives his shipment directly from Vancouver. This situation results in a difference of \$30.00 to \$40.00 in the respective retail price of the Honda between Saskatchewan and Alberta dealers of this product as there is no backhaul.⁴⁴

The provincial boundary also affects certain financial institutions in Lloydminster. For example, the Alberta Government owned Treasury Branch is not recognized as a legal entity by the Province of Saskatchewan. Therefore, while Saskatchewan residents may deposit their savings in this institution, legislation does not allow the bank to lend its money to Saskatchewan residents.⁴⁵

Other problems resulting from the boundary include the necessity of dual licensing of trucks transporting goods to both provinces, or the dual licensing of skilled tradesmen including barbers, electricians, plumbers and professional people such as lawyers, doctors and dentists if they wish to practice in both sectors of the community. There is also considerable duplication in administration for many firms, particularly those dealing in building supplies and automotive sales, as the sales tax must be collected on these items, even if they are purchased in Alberta.⁴⁶

⁴⁴Pers. Comm. with a Honda dealer in Lloydminster.

⁴⁵The Edmonton Journal, Saturday, July 13, 1968, p. 23.

⁴⁶Pers. Comm. with several merchants, skilled and professional people in Lloydminster.

Influence of the Boundary on Salaries and Employment

Generally, there is very little difference between the salaries paid by firms in the two respective sectors of the city. The average yearly salary for Alberta retail workers is \$3,455.00, while their Saskatchewan counterparts earn a slightly higher salary of \$3,585.00.⁴⁷ The difference between the two pay scales is offset partly by the higher provincial income tax which workers in Saskatchewan firms must pay. Neither does the provincial boundary have much effect on the residential origin of the retail workers, as Table XIV indicates:

TABLE XIV

RESIDENTIAL ORIGIN OF LLOYDMINSTER RETAIL EMPLOYEES

Province of Residence	Province of Employment	
	Alberta No. of Employees	Saskatchewan No. of Employees
Lloydminster	99	176
Alberta Sector	51	81
Saskatchewan Sector	48	95
Neighbouring Towns & Villages	6	42
Alberta Side	2	9
Saskatchewan Side	4	33
Farms	3	2
Alberta Side	3	1
Saskatchewan Side	0	1
Total	108	220
Not Accounted For	0	35

Source:

Questionnaire Survey by author in the summer of 1967.

⁴⁷ These figures were obtained from the author's survey and are based on the salaries paid to 108 employees in Alberta firms and 236 employees in Saskatchewan firms.

THE IMPACT OF THE BOUNDARY ON THE COMMERCIAL
LAND USE OF LLOYDMINSTER

The provincial boundary has had a significant impact upon the site development of the present commercial land use of Lloydminster (Fig. 13). From evidence based on field observation and supported by other sources,⁴⁸ it may be concluded that the commercial property in the Alberta sector of Lloydminster's Central Business District, is in better physical condition than the commercial property in the Saskatchewan sector.

This contrast may be attributed to several factors, historical, and economic, as well as political. It is pointed out in Chapter III that the early settlement of Lloydminster occurred primarily within the confines of the Saskatchewan part of the community. Thus it was in that sector where many of the first commercial enterprises were established. The Saskatchewan side maintained its dominant role in the community until the oil boom of the late 1940's. From this time the Alberta sector gradually began to assert itself as an important factor in the economic life of the entire community. There are several reasons for this change.

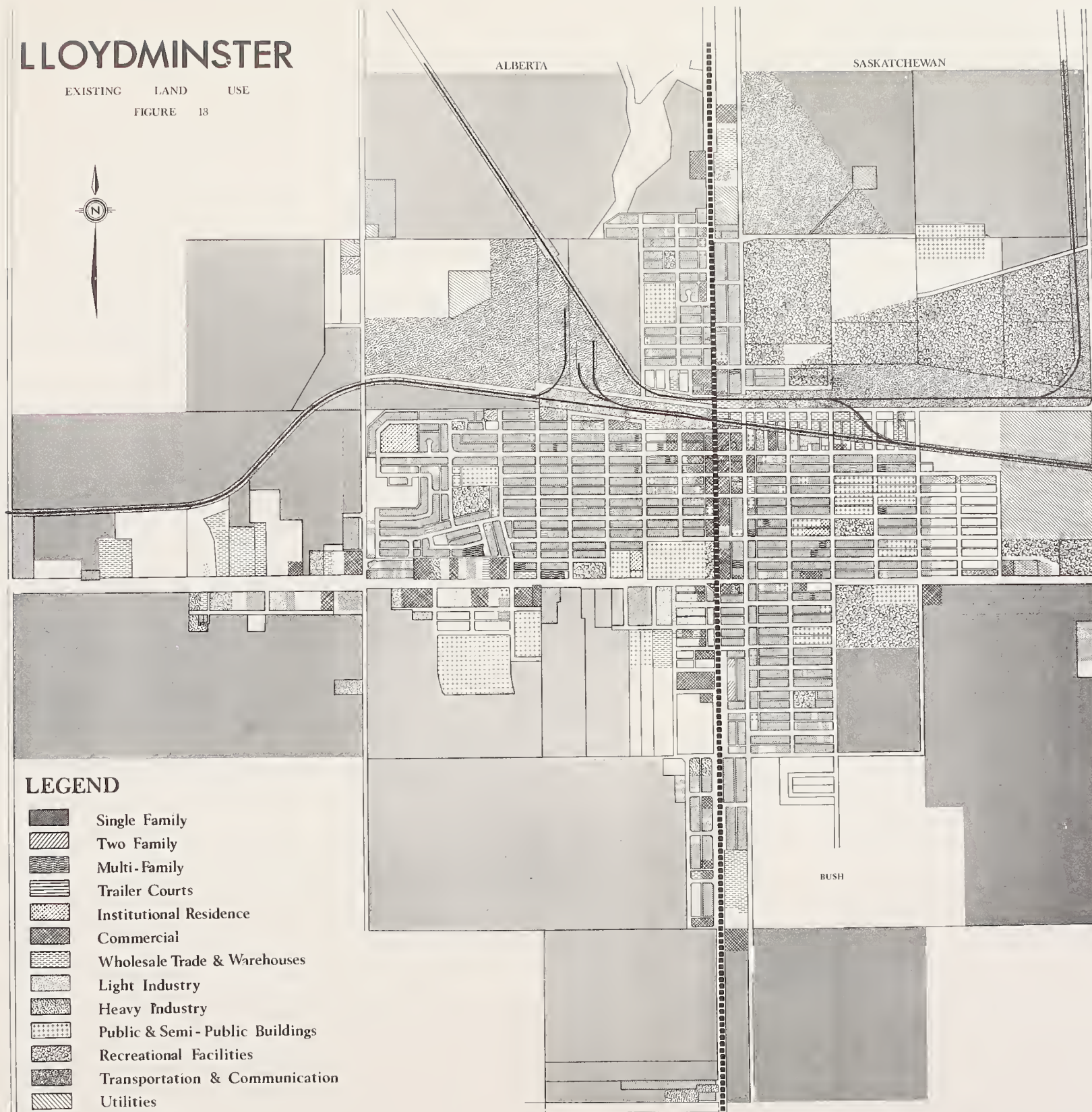
As the Saskatchewan sector of Lloydminster was the first side to be developed commercially, it was also the first to use up the available commercial property. This occurred about the time of the oil boom. Consequently, any new firm wishing to locate in Lloydminster was restricted to the Alberta side of the border for well located, and high quality commercial property, particularly within the Central Business District.

⁴⁸Urban Renewal Study - City of Lloydminster, op. cit., pp. 72-82.

LLOYDMINSTER

EXISTING LAND USE

FIGURE 13



LEGEND

-  Single Family
-  Two Family
-  Multi-Family
-  Trailer Courts
-  Institutional Residence
-  Commercial
-  Wholesale Trade & Warehouses
-  Light Industry
-  Heavy Industry
-  Public & Semi-Public Buildings
-  Recreational Facilities
-  Transportation & Communication
-  Utilities
-  Agricultural
-  Vacant Land

SCALE 0 600 1200

Secondly, as was previously indicated, over one-third of the buildings within the Central Business District were constructed prior to 1930 (Fig. 12). These stores are generally small in size, possessing an average commercial frontage of about 33 linear feet.⁴⁹ Most of these stores were located in Saskatchewan. With the economic prosperity of the oil boom and its aftermath, many of these firms felt the need to expand their facilities. However, their development plans restricted them almost exclusively to the Alberta side of the border. Not only were commercial sites more readily available in the Alberta sector but the average size lots were much larger as a result of a later type of subdivision of lots.

A third factor, and one not readily admitted by the store owners involved, is the political factor. As a result of the imposition of the Saskatchewan sales tax and tobacco tax, and the ensuing problems associated with the collecting of these taxes, several merchants have relocated on the Alberta side of the provincial boundary. Others wish they could move, but store policy originating in head offices in Saskatchewan will not allow it. Among the major firms which have vacated their Saskatchewan premises and relocated in Alberta are Eaton's of Canada, Fisher's Variety and Bailey's I.G.A. The first two firms were forced to relocate when their former premises burned down, while the I.G.A. store moved to a new building. The reasons given by most of the merchants who have relocated, is the need for larger commercial floor

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 73.

space.⁵⁰ While this was undoubtedly one of the factors involved, the sales tax problem was certainly an important consideration in their decision to relocate.

Many of the buildings constructed prior to 1930 are beginning to deteriorate into blighted conditions. Figure 12 points out the major problem areas by outlining the structures built before 1930 and grading the commercial properties into three categories: good, fair and poor.⁵¹ Although some of these buildings occur in Alberta, the majority are located in the Saskatchewan sector. Several blocks on the Saskatchewan side consist of structures, more than 50 percent of which were built before 1930. Many of the buildings constructed prior to 1930, on both sides of the boundary, are now classified as either poor or fair. It was also observed that while several vacant lots and empty buildings existed at present on the Saskatchewan side, very little commercial floor space was available on the Alberta side of the city. This is almost the reverse of the conditions prevailing in the late 1940's and early 1950's. One merchant estimated that as a result of the tax problem the value of business property on the Saskatchewan side of Lloydminster had depreciated 50 to 70 percent.⁵² By way of example he claimed that the liquor store, with one employee, operated by the Government of Saskatchewan, was not even busy, while the Government of Alberta operated outlet had three employees who were "run off their feet."⁵³ These and other

⁵⁰Pers. Comm. with various Lloydminster merchants.

⁵¹This map and much of the description obtained was from the Urban Renewal Study - City of Lloydminster, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

⁵²The Edmonton Journal, Saturday, May 21, 1966, p. 1.

⁵³Loc. cit.

examples were corroborated during many interviews with Lloydminster merchants on both sides of the border.

Finally there is also a significant difference in the commercial development along the major thoroughfares through the city, particularly between Highway 16 West in Alberta and Highway 5 East in Saskatchewan. Highway commercial development⁵⁴ along the two mile strip west of 50th Avenue was quite intensive, while it was almost non-existent for a similar distance along Highway 5, east of 50th Avenue. This is due to a number of factors, some of which, such as land availability and political selection is quite important as the land available for commercial purposes along Highway 5 East is very low-lying and poorly drained. The County of Vermilion River adds an additional incentive in that its tax assessment is generally somewhat lower than the taxes levied by the Rural Municipalities in Saskatchewan.⁵⁵ There is also a significant difference in the intensity of the traffic flow along these two routes (Fig. 14 and 15).

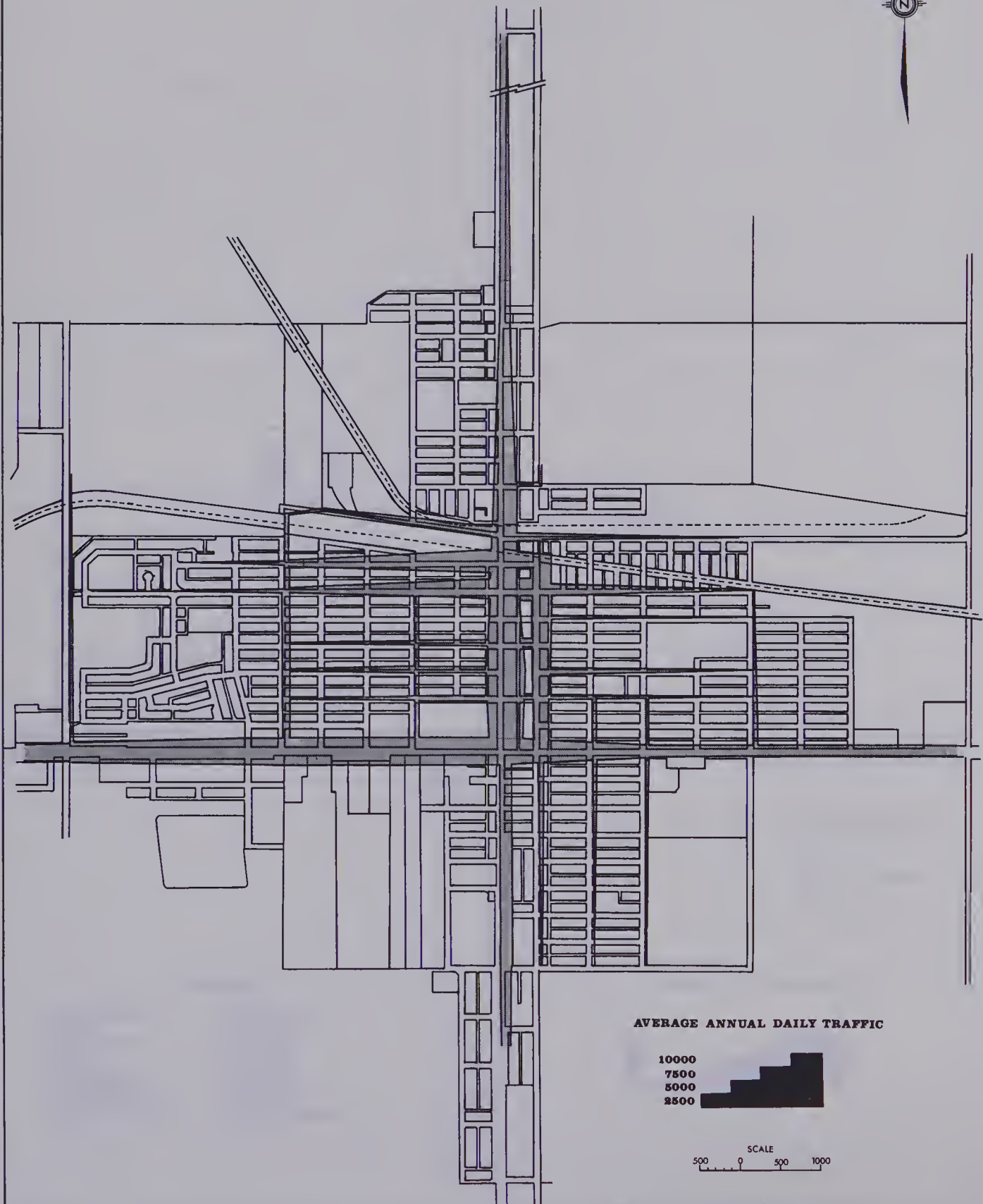
In summary, it can be said that the provincial boundary has had a very significant impact upon all aspects of commercial development in Lloydminster. Although the most apparent influence of the boundary stems from the imposition of the Saskatchewan provincial sales tax and the problems associated with it, the long term effect of the boundary on the

⁵⁴Highway Commercial Development refers to Service Stations, Drive-In Restaurants, Light Industries and other firms which rely on highway access for their livelihood.

⁵⁵The tax assessment will be discussed in more detail in the next section dealing with industrial functions.

1966 Traffic Flow

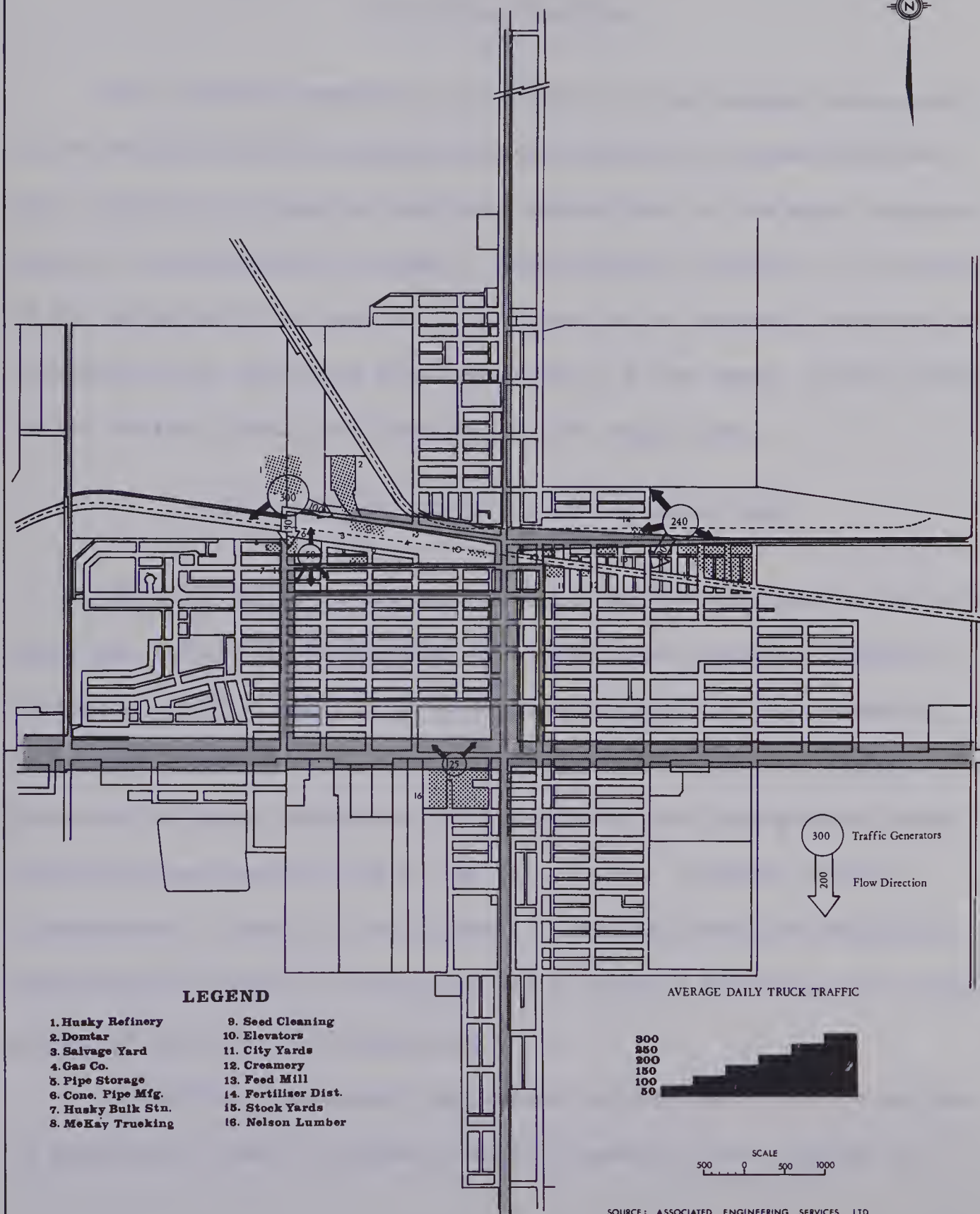
Figure 14



SOURCE: ASSOCIATED ENGINEERING SERVICES LTD.

1966 Commercial Vehicle Flow

Figure 15



existing commercial structure of the city, and hence on the urban land use pattern, must certainly not be under-estimated.

INDUSTRIAL FUNCTIONS

The relative importance of industry to the economic prosperity of the study area has increased steadily since the Second World War, until today it is ready to challenge agriculture as the most important sector of Lloydminster's economy. This section concludes the discussion of the effects of the provincial boundary on the economic functions of Lloydminster by analyzing the significance of the impact of the boundary on the various industrial functions of the study area.

THE INDUSTRIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE STUDY AREA

Securely based on the agricultural service functions of the study area, the industrial development of Lloydminster increased steadily through the 1920's relative to the economic growth of the community. Industrial growth stagnated during the depression, but the dramatic discovery of large quantities of high-asphalt and high-gravity crude oil in the surrounding area in the late 1940's, suddenly revived Lloydminster's industrial development. The discovery and subsequent exploitation of this oil field has had a profound effect on the economic growth of the City of Lloydminster.

Industrial development progressed rapidly and by 1966 more than 67 industrial firms (including trucking companies) had located in

Lloydminster.⁵⁶ These firms employed 703⁵⁷ persons who earned an average salary of \$5,586.00.⁵⁸

The industries may be classified into the following four categories:⁵⁹

1. Heavy industries based on crude oil production, its refining and manufacturing, and those using the by-products of oil.
2. Industries based on construction activities (e.g. concrete manufacturing and wood products).
3. Industries based on agricultural products (e.g. the dairy and poultry hatchery).
4. Miscellaneous industries (e.g. printing shops, transportation firms, storage and wholesale premises).

The majority of these industrial firms (73 percent) have been established in Lloydminster since the Second World War, primarily as a result of the oil boom in the area. Most of these firms (90 percent) employ less than 25 workers and only two companies employ more than 100 people.⁶⁰ While many industries exist mainly to serve the local market others ship their products to widely scattered markets as far away as Eastern Canada and the United States.

⁵⁶Pers. Comm., D.M. Kuehn, op. cit.

⁵⁷Loc. cit. (Does not include summer help).

⁵⁸Based on the questionnaire survey by the author in August of 1967. This statement is based on the returns of 24 of 26 firms interviewed, out of a total number of 67 firms in the city. These 24 firms had a total payroll of \$3,788,105 for 680 employees (including summer help in many instances).

⁵⁹Urban Renewal Study - City of Lloydminster, op. cit.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 28.

Undoubtedly the most important facet of Lloydminster's industrial development is based on the heavy crude oil production and its allied industries. The thick black oil found in the Lloydminster region is commonly referred to as "Lloydminster Crude" and produces a grade of asphalt unexcelled anywhere in the world.⁶¹ Thus Lloydminster has assumed the title of "The Black Oil Capital."⁶²

Almost synonymous with oil in the Lloydminster area is Husky Oil Canada Ltd. This Canadian-based firm has operated its refinery in Lloydminster since 1947 and during the last five years has invested \$40 million in facilities at Lloydminster.⁶³ In 1963 Husky Oil constructed a 76 mile long, twin six inch pipeline, between Lloydminster and the Wainwright-Hardisty region. This pipeline receives condensate from the Hardisty field, which is mixed with crude oil at the refinery, and is then shipped through the Interprovincial Pipeline to Eastern Canada.⁶⁴ The following table shows the production figures for Lloydminster refineries in a recent five year period.⁶⁵

⁶¹Chamber of Commerce Information Sheet.

⁶²Loc. cit.

⁶³"Lloydminster: Plenty of Icing". Alberta Business Journal, Vol. 2, No. 5, January - February, 1969, p. 34.

⁶⁴Chamber of Commerce Information Sheet, op. cit.

⁶⁵Urban Renewal Study - City of Lloydminster, op. cit., p. 28.

TABLE XV
OIL PRODUCTION FOR LLOYDMINSTER REFINERIES
1963-1967

Year	Production (in barrels)
1963	2,000,000
1964	3,500,000
1965	4,600,000
1966	6,400,000
1967	8,500,000

Source:

Urban Renewal Study - City of
Lloydminster, Makale, Holloway and Associates
Ltd., Edmonton, July, 1968, p. 28.

With the increased production resulting from improved techniques in recovery methods and the possible opening of new markets for asphaltic crude in the mid-central United States, Husky officials are very optimistic about the future.

If Husky Oil prospers, so will the Lloydminster industries using its by-products, such as Domtar Ltd., and Elsro Asphalt, as well as others not directly using oil products but depending considerably on oil generating industries, such as Weldex, Universal Industries Ltd., and International Cooperage Co. Ltd.

The second major industrial firm in Lloydminster is the Nelson Lumber Company Ltd. Begun in 1949 as a granary employing one person, the company has blossomed into a large multi-million dollar operation employing between 175 to 200 people in Lloydminster, as well as an

additional 100 workers in Edmonton and 75 more at an affiliated saw mill operation in Fort McMurray.⁶⁶ Originally built for the rancher and farmer, Nelson Homes has also captured a substantial share of the urban manufactured housing market in Western Canada (One entire sub-division in Lloydminster consists of Nelson Homes).⁶⁷ Constructed entirely from B.C. fir, Nelson Homes are sold through 60 franchised dealers across Western Canada, and are shipped as far away as Kelowna and Prince George in British Columbia and Brandon, Manitoba. Sales have risen to a peak of 850 homes in each of the last two years, and the confidence which the firm has in its operation is so great, that they have established their own mortgage company to assist buyers of their product.⁶⁸

In the last several years Lloydminster has experienced significant growth. Approximately 10 new firms have been established in the city while many existing enterprises have undergone major expansion. This industrial growth is reflected in the rapid increase of the industrial labour force (Table XVI).

⁶⁶Alberta Business Journal, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

⁶⁷Pers. Comm. with Mr. Ray Nelson on August 18, 1967.

⁶⁸Alberta Business Journal, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

TABLE XVI

LLOYDMINSTER: INDUSTRIAL LABOR FORCE 1960 AND 1966/67

	1960	1966/67
<u>Oil Industries</u>		
(Production, refining, manufacturing)	348	244
Oil Generating Industries (Not using oil products)	36	78
Construction Industries	56	311
Agriculturally Based Industries	42	66
Printing	14	32
Total	496	731

Source:

Urban Renewal Study - City of Lloydminster,
Makale, Holloway and Associates Ltd., July, 1968, p. 11.

The table clearly shows the decrease in the workers employed by the oil industries as a result of more efficient extraction, and increased production methods. At the same time there has been a tremendous increase in the construction labor force, primarily as a result of the expansion of the Nelson Lumber Company. There is a definite trend towards the diversification of Lloydminster's industrial base, which will provide for a sounder economic structure for future growth and expansion.

THE EFFECT OF THE PROVINCIAL BOUNDARY ON THE INDUSTRIAL FUNCTIONS OF LLOYDMINSTER

Although the impact of the provincial boundary on the industrial functions of Lloydminster may not be as obvious to the visitor as its effect on the commercial functions, nevertheless it is quite significant, particularly with respect to its impact on the present land use distribution (Fig. 13).

The Influence of the Boundary on the Industrial Land Use

Perhaps the most striking difference which can be observed on the map is the almost total lack of heavy industry in the Saskatchewan sector of the city. All the heavy industrial plants are located on the Alberta side of the provincial boundary. There are several possible explanations for this contrast. Without a doubt the most important factor is the location of the Husky Oil Refinery. As most, of what may be termed heavy industries in Lloydminster, depend either upon the by-products of the oil refinery, or supply materials to the oil industry, they are generally all clustered in the vicinity of the refinery. Thus the site of the Husky Oil Refinery to a large extent determines the location of the associated industries depending on oil for their existence.

Several theories have been advanced as to why the refinery was established on its present location. One point at least is certain. The refinery was not located in Alberta as a result of the oil production capacity of the Alberta segment of the oil field. Table XVII clearly indicates that the Saskatchewan sector of the Lloydminster oil field has been out-producing the Alberta sector by about 2:1 ratio since drilling was first begun.

TABLE XVII
PRODUCTION FIGURES OF THE LLOYDMINSTER OIL FIELD
(1956-1966)

Year	Alberta Sector	Saskatchewan Sector
Prior to 1956	9,027,088	12,617,986
1957-1961	3,253,543	5,650,595
1962-1966	2,428,598	10,049,955
Total	14,709,229	28,318,536

Source:

R.M. Coons, Director, Mineral Statistics and Research Branch, Department of Mineral Resources, Province of Saskatchewan, Government Administration Building, Regina, September 27, 1967. R. Fernback, Supervisor, Publications and Statistics, Oil and Gas Conservation Board, Calgary, October 4, 1967.

It is the general consensus of many informed people in Lloydminster that the decision to locate the refinery at its present site was based on political motives rather than physical site selection.⁶⁹ At the time Husky first came to Lloydminster it was considering a site southeast of the town, on the Saskatchewan side of the provincial boundary. This would have been a suitable location with respect to the prevailing winds which are generally from the northwest. However, the company apparently changed its thinking, and instead chose to locate on the northwest side of town. The official company explanation states that the price of the original site selected had become too expensive through

⁶⁹Pers. Comm. with various industrial personnel in Lloydminster during the summer of 1967.

speculation, and that therefore, they chose to locate in their present location.⁷⁰ When this point was discussed with several business and industrial representatives, most of whom were long-time residents of Lloydminster, it was alleged that Husky Oil located its refinery at its present location, not so much as a result of increased land prices, but because of the threat of higher taxes and possible nationalization of its property by the socialistic policies of the C.C.F. government. This was unequivocally denied by the manager of the Husky Oil Refinery.⁷¹

It is difficult to prove or disprove either statement. Most likely the final choice of the refinery site was undoubtedly based on long deliberations, in which both the above factors, as well as several others were discussed. Whatever the reasons behind the choice however, the decision made by Husky Oil in 1946, has had a tremendous impact on the industrial development pattern of Lloydminster, particularly on the location of the heavy industries.

Other factors have also influenced the industrial land use of the city. While most of the light industries are distributed along the railway tracks and major highways for transportation accessibility, many have chosen their provincial location on the basis of personal preference. These preferences, whether conscious or unconscious, on the part of individual owners or head offices, do exist. This fact was

⁷⁰Pers. Comm. with the manager of the Husky Oil Refinery, August 22, 1967.

⁷¹Loc. cit.

recognized by D.L. Makale in recommending possible areas for future annexation by the city.⁷²

. . . at that time I did not realize how peculiar conditions are in the City of Lloydminster, that city is divided between two provinces, and there is a definite preference on the type of certain . . . on the part of certain industries or certain people to live in one or the other Province, so it really doesn't matter where you locate industrial land. I discovered to my great surprise and regret later on that those two provincial jurisdictions do cause quite a lot of complications. Certain industries would prefer to go into Alberta. Certain industries would prefer to go into Saskatchewan. Therefore, two areas, as differently from the other municipalities, two areas had to be set to meet this particular industrial requirement, that apparently due to the . . . trading area of industry, the laws under which they operate, and everything else, makes quite a difference to some industry whether they're on one or the other side of the Provincial boundary.

This same point was also indicated by the results of the questionnaire survey (Table XVIII). In reply to the question "Did the presence of the provincial boundary influence your choice of location in any way?" (i.e. in the form of economic benefits, tax incentives, etc.) the following results were obtained:

⁷²This quote was taken verbatim from the printed records of the City of Lloydminster Annexation Hearings. op. cit., January 27, 1966, p. 320.

TABLE XVIII
INFLUENCE OF BOUNDARY ON INDUSTRIAL
SITE LOCATION

	Alberta Firms	Saskatchewan Firms
Yes	6	1
No	12	4
Qualified	0	1
No Opinion	2	0
Total	20	6

Source:

Questionnaire Survey by the author in August of 1967.

The lone Saskatchewan firm which answered "yes" to this question was the Co-op Dairy. As this firm has its head office in Saskatchewan its site was limited to a Saskatchewan location. The firm whose answer was qualified, stated that they took over existing facilities, but if they had started from scratch they would have preferred an Alberta location.

The following are some of the reasons advanced by the six Alberta firms which replied in the affirmative. Alberta has a tax advantage not available in Saskatchewan; Alberta has a more stable government; Alberta did not have a socialistic government; Alberta has no tax on capital purchases; Alberta has more realistic labor legislation; Alberta has no sales tax; and Alberta's government is fairer to business.

Unfortunately, many of these statements are only vague generalities which are meaningless without a comparison of the facts. Obviously the

reasons with political overtones, are primarily a matter of personal opinion and it would be difficult to attempt an unbiased and accurate assessment of their particular relevance to this situation (e.g. the Husky Oil Co. Ltd. example). Neither can it be denied that Saskatchewan has a sales tax on capital purchases. Undoubtedly this tax had influenced some industrial people in their decision of a site. The only two statements which can be compared are those relating to tax assessment and labor legislation of the two provinces.

The following discussion will show that there is a substantial discrepancy between the respective provincial tax assessments. In 1965 the County of Vermilion River No. 24 assessed all of the Husky Oil Canada Ltd. property at \$453,210.00 including improvements and land assessment where applicable. The same property was assessed by the Saskatchewan government at the sum of \$719,000.00, a difference of \$265,790.00.⁷³ Similarly the Alberta assessment of International Cooperage Co. of Canada Ltd., property was \$15,470.00 while the corresponding Saskatchewan assessment figure was \$45,000.00, a difference of \$29,530.00.⁷⁴ In all fairness to the Saskatchewan assessors, however, it must be said that their assessment of Domtar Chemical Co. Ltd. was \$166,000.00 or \$23,420 less than the value of \$189,420 made by the Alberta government.⁷⁵

This rather sharp contrast between the assessment values of the two provincial governments may be attributed to the different assessment regulations of the two provinces. In Alberta the municipality has the

⁷³Ibid., pp. 487-493.

⁷⁴Loc. cit.

⁷⁵Loc. cit.

option of assessing normal improvements at 60 percent of their value and if it is a manufacturing or processing plant the assessor has the option of assessing the machinery equipment at 30 percent of their value or levy a business tax. Saskatchewan municipalities have no such options. They do not assess machinery equipment but only levy a business tax.⁷⁶

A close analysis of the existing labor legislation of the two provinces reveals that no major significant differences exist between them. Saskatchewan legislation⁷⁷ provides for a basic wage of \$40.00 per week for any full time employee seventeen years of age or over, or \$38.00 for those under seventeen. It also stipulates that employees must be paid one and a half times ($1\frac{1}{2}x$) his ordinary wage for any hours worked over an eight hour day or a 44 hour week. The law also states that workers are entitled to eight public holidays,⁷⁸ and that all employees, including part-time employees, have the right to a holiday after each year of employment with the same employer. For the first four years he must be allowed two weeks holidays at $1/26$ (\pm 4 percent) of his total wages earned in the previous year. After the fifth year he is entitled to three weeks of vacation at $3/25$ (6 percent) of his total wages.

Alberta legislation⁷⁹ provides for a basic wage of \$46.00 per week or \$1.15 per hour, for all full time employees over eighteen and

⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 499-500.

⁷⁷Saskatchewan, Department of Labour, Saskatchewan Labour Legislation (Effective September 1, 1966), Regina.

⁷⁸New Years Day, Good Friday, Victoria Day, Dominion Day, Labour Day, Thanksgiving Day, Remembrance Day and Christmas Day.

⁷⁹Alberta, Department of Industries and Labour, The Alberta Labour Act, Edmonton.

\$40.00 per week for those under eighteen years of age. The overtime regulations stipulate that employees must be paid one and a half times his ordinary wages for any hours worked in excess of nine hours per day and the weekly maximum of 44 hours. Holiday legislation allows the employees a total of five public holidays,⁸⁰ and requires that every employer shall give each of his employees an annual vacation of two weeks with regular pay, after each year of employment. Legislation does not provide for an extra week's holiday for long term employees of a company.

This brief comparison indicates that while Alberta employees receive a higher minimum wage, the Saskatchewan employees receive better fringe benefits such as more public holidays and longer annual vacations. This contrast reflects the thinking of the two opposing governments which legislated these laws, the higher pay received by Alberta employees reflects the free-enterprise philosophy of Social Credit and the liberal fringe benefits of the Saskatchewan workers reflect the labour-oriented philosophies of the former C.C.F. government. In general, however, these two sets of labor legislation do not differ greatly from one another and it is difficult to see how they could be so significant as to influence the location of a particular industry.

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Worker's International Union, with a membership of 165, is the only union of any significance in the study area.⁸¹ The labor turnover in Lloydminster is considered stable and

⁸⁰New Years Day, Good Friday, Dominion Day, Labour Day and Christmas Day.

⁸¹Chamber of Commerce Information Sheet.

labor disputes are rare. No major work stoppages have occurred in Lloydminster for a number of years.⁸²

It may be concluded from the facts discussed above that the choice of an industrial site by a particular company depends on a combination of factors, including physical site conditions, economic site control, as well as the political and social preference, either of the individual owner or the firm's head office.

The second question was more objective. The answers were therefore, more explicit and the results more reliable. In reply to this question "Does the provincial boundary have any effect on your business operations either directly or indirectly?" the following tabulation was received:

TABLE XIX
INFLUENCE OF BOUNDARY ON
INDUSTRIAL OPERATION

	Alberta Firms	Saskatchewan Firms
Yes	13	4
No	7	2
No Opinion	0	0
Total	20	6

Source:

Questionnaire Survey by author in August, 1967.

⁸²Ken Oates, "New Scope for Development". Opportunities Await You in Lloydminster, 1965, p. 4.

Here are some of the effects experienced by the four Saskatchewan companies which answered in the affirmative. The sales tax, even though it does not influence most industries, does affect the construction companies, particularly the building industries. Many felt that even if it did not affect them directly, it served as a psychological deterrent to many customers. Other industries, such as body shops, simply cannot afford to collect the tax on any new car parts supplied to the customer. This would increase the price of a work estimate and result in possible loss of a customer through uncompetitive bidding. If the shop loses the bid it results in less work for its employees, leading to financial problems for their families. Thus the owner must absorb the loss out of his own profits.⁸³

Livestock shipping companies such as Weiller and Williams Ltd. are faced with extra administration costs since they must of necessity be involved with the laws and requirements relating to livestock operations in both provinces, including the respective provincial Brand Acts, Dealer Bonds, licensing and so forth.⁸⁴

Some firms felt that the higher rates of pay in the Alberta industries had resulted in a drain of employees to Alberta located industries. A final problem was the irritating situation whereby all skilled employees such as electricians, plumbers, welders and pipe fitters must be licensed by both provinces in order to perform their

⁸³Pers. Comm. with the owner of a body shop on the Saskatchewan side of Lloydminster, August 22, 1967.

⁸⁴Pers. Comm. with Mr. L.P. Bromham of Weiller and Williams (Lloyd) Ltd., August 23, 1967.

work, and the fact that all delivery trucks and construction equipment must carry dual license plates.

Although many of these problems were also mentioned by the 13 Alberta firms which stated that the boundary influenced their operations, several different points were also made. For instance, since commercial distribution areas are divided by the provincial boundary, C.K.S.A. radio and television must do a great deal of extra work in order to arrange advertising campaigns acceptable to the respective head offices of a firm with stores on both sides of the provincial boundary.⁸⁵

As the four western provinces have standardized their policies on gas and oil exploration wherever practicable, there are no essential differences between Alberta and Saskatchewan oil and gas policy. Thus Husky Oil faces no major problems as a result of the provincial boundary cutting through the Lloydminster oil field. The company follows the standard procedure of nominating its crude oil requirements to the Saskatchewan government. Since royalty is paid on production the oil may be processed or refined wherever a market exists.⁸⁶ Perhaps the greatest influence to Husky Oil would be the fact that Alberta taxes have generally been lower. There is also a slight difference in the royalty rates of the two provinces. Saskatchewan regulations state that the rate for crude oil be graduated from five percent for all

⁸⁵Pers. Comm. with Mr. A. Shortell, Manager of C.K.S.A. Radio and C.K.S.A. Television Stations, August 22, 1967.

⁸⁶Pers. Comm. with Mr. R.M. Coons, Director, Mineral Statistics and Research Branch, Department of Mineral Resources, Province of Saskatchewan, Regina, September 27, 1967, and Mr. R. Fernback, Supervisor, Publication and Statistics Branch, Oil and Gas Conservation Board, Calgary.

production up to 600 barrels in any one month, to a maximum of 16 percent for production exceeding 4,950 barrels in one month.⁸⁷ Alberta regulations require royalty to be paid at the graduated rate of eight percent for all production up to 750 barrels in any one month to a maximum of 16 2/3 percent for production of 2,700 barrels and over in any one month.⁸⁸ Husky also has a minor problem with respect to the asphalt quotas of the two provinces as each administration sets its own quotas for the individual refineries. There is also an accounting problem as a record must be kept with respect to the Health and Education Tax on any oil equipment purchased in Alberta, moved into Saskatchewan and back to Alberta.⁸⁹

The Lloydminster Gas Company is unique in that it is the only privately-owned gas utility in the Province of Saskatchewan. Incorporated as a company in 1933, it employs 11 people and provides natural gas to the City of Lloydminster as well as the nearby communities of Blackfoot and Kitscoty from 23 gas wells in Saskatchewan and East-Central Alberta.⁹⁰ In the main, Alberta gas is sold to Saskatchewan residents, but on occasion, depending on the demand, the situation may be reversed. Because of this complete integration, even if it were desired, it would be impossible to establish different rates for consumers in Saskatchewan,

⁸⁷Saskatchewan - Regulations - Leases and Reservations. The Royal Bank of Canada, Oil and Gas Department, Calgary, January 1, 1965, p. 5.

⁸⁸Alberta - Regulations - Leases and Reservations. The Royal Bank of Canada, Oil and Gas Department, Calgary, July 15, 1964, p. 6.

⁸⁹Pers. Comm. with Manager of the Husky Oil Refinery, op. cit.

⁹⁰"Gas Co. Grew With Lloydminster". The Alberta Business Journal, January-February, 1969, p. 37. (It has 2,250 meters in Lloydminster and an additional 216 meters in Blackfoot and Kitscoty).

based on the origin of the gas.⁹¹ As was the case with Husky Oil, the Lloydminster Gas Company is faced with slightly different royalty rates between the two provinces. The royalty rate for natural gas in Alberta is 16 2/3 percent of the selling price with a minimum of 3/4¢ per thousand cubic feet of gas sold.⁹² The royalty on natural gas in Saskatchewan is slightly less at eight percent of production with a minimum royalty of 1/2¢ per thousand cubic feet of gas.⁹³

One company stated that as a result of the Saskatchewan regulations the trading area of its products had been reduced by one-third, as the company could not comply with the stringent Saskatchewan regulations. Another firm, McKay's Transport Company Ltd., stated that they had problems applying the different labor legislation of the two provinces to their situation, with respect to hours of employment, workman's compensation, holidays and other labor laws, as these relate to the truck drivers. Otherwise the problems faced by Alberta firms do not differ radically from those of Saskatchewan companies. Both groups have problems with dual licensing of trucks, and skilled employees, as well as duplication of administration.

In general, it would also appear that the boundary has less of a psychological impact upon Saskatchewan industrial firms than it exerted on the Saskatchewan commercial community. For instance the answers

⁹¹Pers. Comm., R. Fernback, op. cit.

⁹²Alberta - Regulations - Leases and Reservations, op. cit., p. 6.

⁹³Saskatchewan - Regulations - Leases and Reservations, op. cit.

received in reply to the question "If you could relocate across the provincial boundary, would you?" are quite different from those received in reply to a similar question from the Saskatchewan merchants (Table XIII and Table XX).

TABLE XX
BREAKDOWN OF PROVINCIAL PREFERENCE-
LLOYDMINSTER MANUFACTURERS

	Alberta Firms	Saskatchewan Firms
Yes	2	1
No	17	4
No Opinion	1	1
Total	20	6

Source:

Questionnaire Survey by author in August, 1967.

The Influence of the Boundary on Salaries and Employment

The survey also made it clear that there is a disparity in the salaries earned by workers on the two sides of the boundary line. Alberta industrial workers earned an average salary of \$5,712.00 per annum, while the corresponding annual wage for their Saskatchewan counterparts was only \$4,724.00 or \$988.00 less per year.⁹⁴ If the higher provincial income tax deduction in Saskatchewan is considered, this is quite a substantial difference.

⁹⁴These figures are based on 593 employees out of 628 persons employed by the Alberta firms and 87 out of 87 employees of Saskatchewan firms.

There are several possible reasons for this contrast in total pay. One is the limited number of industrial firms located in the Saskatchewan sector, particularly those employing a considerable number of people. This sample was further reduced by the unwillingness of several firms to co-operate in this study. Secondly, the Saskatchewan sample did not include heavy industries which generally pay a higher salary than light or wholesale industries.

The statistics showing the relationship between the province of employment and the province of residence for the industrial labor force are similar to those of the commercial labor force. In general the province of residence has very little bearing on the place of employment, although many people prefer to work in the province in which they reside if work is available in that province. This is especially true for income tax purposes. Provincial income tax is deducted from the employee's pay cheque according to the rate established by the province in which the person is employed. When he files his tax return, however, he must pay his provincial income tax on the basis of the rate set by the province in which he resides. Thus an Alberta resident employed in Saskatchewan would receive a substantial refund on his income tax claim, while a Saskatchewan resident working in Alberta would be required to pay a considerable adjustment with his tax return. Unless this tax difference of 6.5 percent is taken into consideration by Saskatchewan residents employed in Alberta it could result in an unnecessary financial problem at tax return time.

TABLE XXI
RESIDENTIAL ORIGIN OF THE LLOYDMINSTER
INDUSTRIAL LABOUR FORCE

Province of Residence	Province of Employment	
	Alberta	Saskatchewan
Lloydminster	524	76
Alberta Sector	336	31
Saskatchewan Sector	188	45
Neighbouring Towns and Villages	93	9
Alberta Side	73	5
Saskatchewan Side	20	4
Farms	11	2
Alberta Side	3	2
Saskatchewan Side	8	0
Total	628	87

Source:

Questionnaire Survey by the Author in August of 1967.

In summary it may be stated that the impact of the provincial boundary on the industrial functions of Lloydminster, although not as readily apparent as the impact on the commercial functions, is nevertheless significant. This is especially true with respect to the boundary's past, as well as present, influence on the industrial land use of the study area.

CHAPTER VI

THE EFFECTS OF THE PROVINCIAL BOUNDARY ON THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF LLOYDMINSTER

In his study on the measurement of boundary effects on telephone interactions J. Ross Mackay states that:

the inhabitants separated by a boundary do not, except in very unusual circumstances, live in complete isolation from each other. On the contrary, a constant stream of human interactions flows back and forth across a boundary. People travel, visit, migrate, intermarry, telephone, telegraph, attend schools, send letters, export raw materials, and import finished products across boundaries.¹

The validity of this statement is readily apparent in the Lloydminster area. Lloydminster provides an excellent example of the fact that while boundaries always separate regions they can also connect regions.

This chapter will discuss the impact of the provincial boundary on the lives of the people of the study area. It will attempt to analyze the effect of the boundary on the various human and social interactions within the study area, and try to determine whether or not the presence of the boundary has influenced the psychological environment of the population of the study area.

POPULATION

Since the oil boom of 1946 the population of Lloydminster has grown from 1,135 people to 6,838 people in 1966, an increase of 679

¹J. Ross Mackay, "The Interactance Hypothesis and Boundaries in Canada: A Preliminary Study". Canadian Geographer, No. 11 (1958), pp. 1-8.

percent. The annexation of the urban fringe and part of the rural area further increased the urban population to approximately 8,000 persons. Figure 16 shows the past growth rate and the expected trend to 1985.

TABLE XXII
LLOYDMINSTER: POPULATION GROWTH
1946-1966

Year	Alberta Sector	Saskatchewan Sector	Town/City
1946			1,135
1951			3,888
1956			5,114
1960	2,886	2,516	5,402
1961	3,052	2,688	5,740
1962	3,108	2,811	5,919
1963	3,344	2,804	6,148
1964	3,344	3,029	6,373
1965	3,622	3,009	6,631
1966	3,710	3,128	6,838

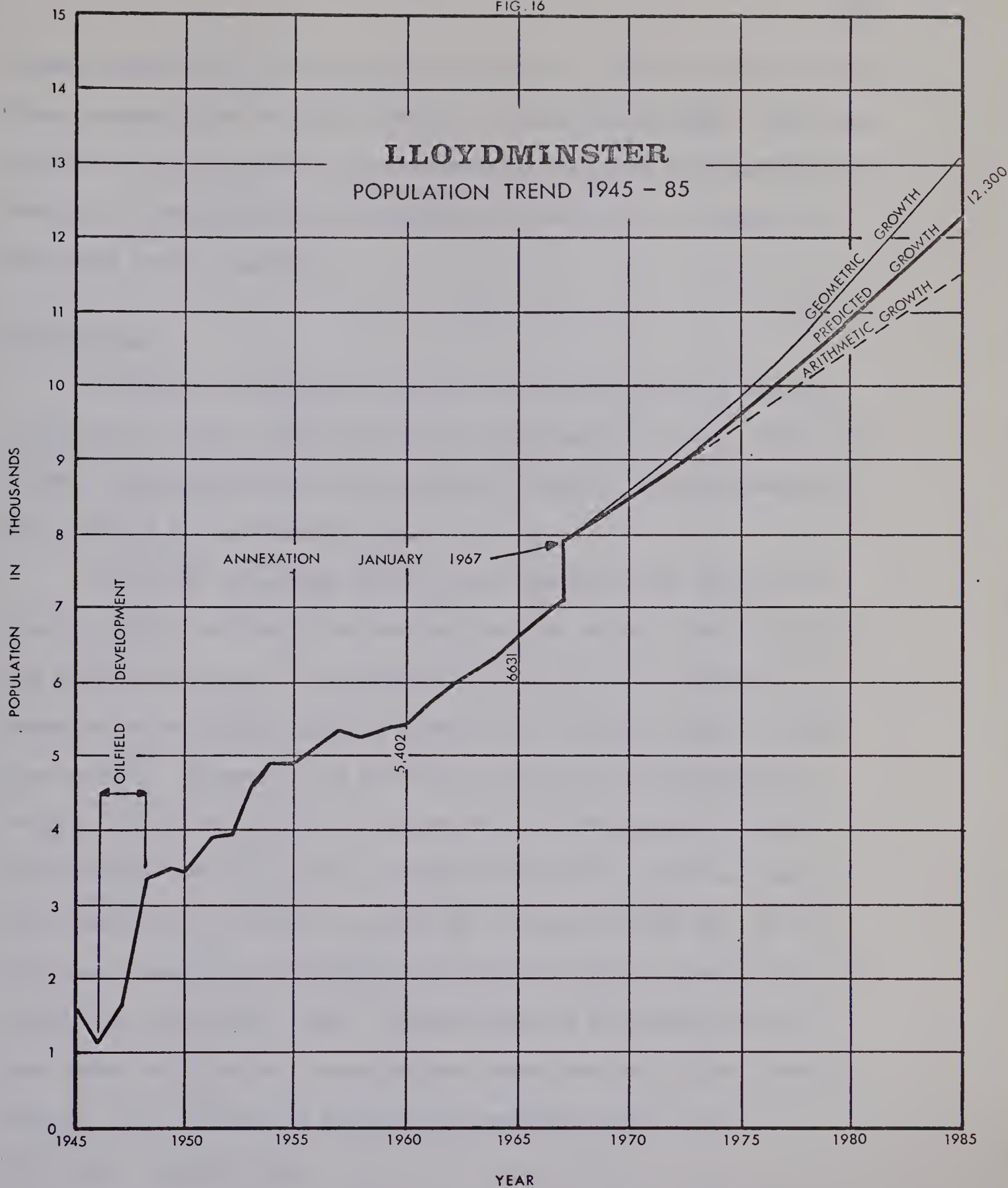
Source:

Lloydminster Town/City Census Records.

Although the natural growth rate has been gradual, the impact of the two economic factors, the oil boom and annexation, have added significantly to the total population growth.

Table XXII indicates that the growth rate of the Alberta sector has been slightly greater between 1960 and 1966, than that of the

FIG. 16



Source: Associated Engineering Services Ltd.

Saskatchewan sector. In fact on two occasions, 1962-63 and 1964-65, the Saskatchewan sector actually suffered a population decrease. There are indications in the writer's questionnaire survey that this could be the result of housing shortage in Saskatchewan, as well as of political decisions such as medicare.

Ethnic Origin

Although Lloydminster residents are predominantly of British ancestry, many other ethnic groups are represented as well. Table XXIII shows the percentage ratio of the various ethnic groups represented in the city and its surrounding area.

While the percentage ratios of the various ethnic groups are fairly evenly distributed between both sectors of the study area, there are a few exceptions. A considerable difference exists between the sizes of the British population groups, both urban and rural, in the two sectors. Although it is difficult to present conclusively the reasons for the existence of a larger British ethnic group in the Saskatchewan part of the city, it may be due to the fact that most of the original Barr Colonists settled on the Saskatchewan side of the provincial boundary. The Alberta side of the boundary, particularly the rural area, has a much larger representation of Ukrainian origin, a fact which reflects the historical settlement pattern of East-central Alberta. The differences between the remaining ethnic groups is relatively insignificant.

TABLE XXIII

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE POPULATION OF THE CITY OF
LLOYDMINSTER AND ITS SURROUNDING AREA

	British Isles	German	Scandi- navian	French	Ukrain- ian	Dutch	Other European	Others
Lloydminster	59.5	11.8	8.0	5.6	4.8	2.1	5.3	2.9
Saskatchewan Sector	61.6	11.3	6.6	6.0	3.7	2.1	6.5	2.3
Alberta Sector	57.5	12.3	9.3	5.3	5.8	2.1	4.2	3.4
Surrounding Area	63.2	9.7	8.4	3.5	5.5	2.0	6.6	1.0
Saskatchewan Sector	66.1	11.7	7.8	3.1	1.5	1.9	6.9	0.9
Alberta Sector	61.6	8.6	8.7	3.8	7.6	2.0	6.5	1.1

Source:

"Population - Ethnic Groups". 1961 Census of Canada - Bulletin SP2, Dominion Bureau of Statistics,
Ottawa.

Age and Sex Composition

Figures 17 and 18 indicate that the composition of Lloydminster's population is relatively young. There is a good representation of children in the age group of zero to nine years of age, but those in the 15-24 year category are poorly represented. This reflects the general lack of higher education facilities in the city. The largest proportion of the population is composed of the most productive age groups between 25 and 54 years of age, but a relatively large segment of the population is also found in the 70 years of age and over category. This indicates the steady influx of pensioners and retired farmers into Lloydminster from the surrounding rural area.

A comparison of the age composition of the two sectors reveals that the population of the Alberta side is slightly younger than their Saskatchewan neighbours. This may be due to the fact that the Saskatchewan side was the first part of the city to be settled, and many of the people who came to Lloydminster prior to 1945 settled there as it was then the dominant part of the community. The younger people attracted by the oil boom and its aftermath, settled primarily in the Alberta sector where land was still available. There is also an indication that some of the older citizens were attracted to the Saskatchewan sector, by the social welfare policies of the former C.C.F. government.²

The sex composition of the various age groups is generally quite evenly distributed in both parts of the city, with males constituting a somewhat larger percentage of the total population in both sectors.

²Questionnaire survey by author in the summer of 1967. This will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Lloydminster: Age and Sex Composition, 1961

Alberta Saskatchewan

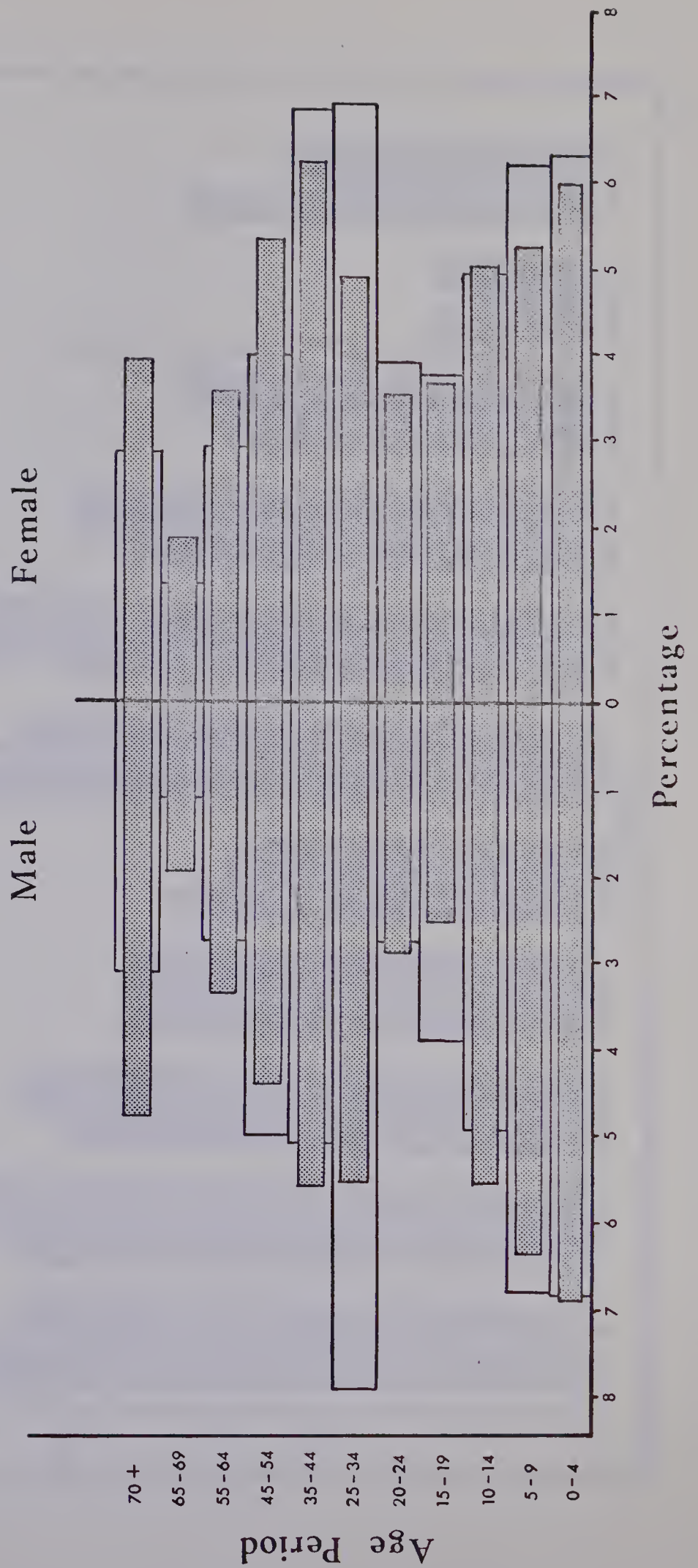
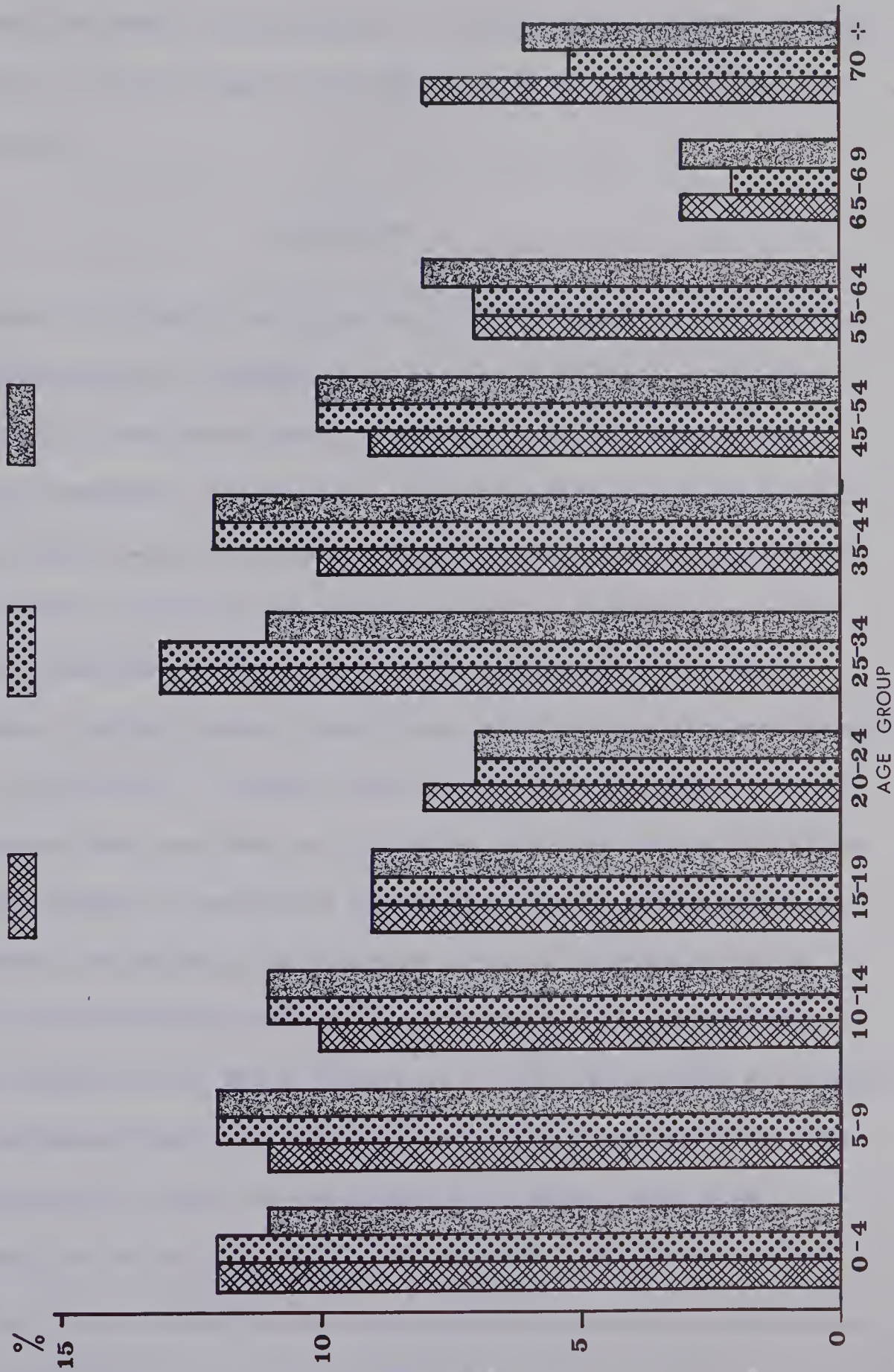


FIG.18

AGE GROUP DISTRIBUTION 1966 (D.B.S)

LLOYDMINSTER - ALBERTA - SASKATCHEWAN



Females do comprise a higher percentage of the population of both sectors, in the 15-24 years of age groups. This may be the result of fewer women than men in this category leaving the city for institutions of higher education.

EDUCATION

Chapter III briefly described the initial impact of the boundary on the administration of the education system of the new settlement. Whereas the early settlement occurred primarily in the Saskatchewan sector of the community, the majority of the students enrolled in the Lloydminster school system resided in Saskatchewan. Consequently the Lloydminster School District was placed under the jurisdiction of the Saskatchewan Department of Education. This situation, which still prevails today, has had several significant effects upon the educational program of Lloydminster. As most educational systems prefer to hire teachers who are familiar with its structure and curriculum, and since most teachers prefer to teach in a system with whose curriculum they are acquainted, the majority of teachers in the Lloydminster school system have received their training in the Province of Saskatchewan.³

Even though all of the Lloydminster schools come under the control of the Saskatchewan Department of Education, grants are received from both provinces on the basis of the number of students from each province enrolled in the system. At the present time this enrollment

³Pers. Comm. with Mr. J.J. Giesbrecht, Superintendent, Lloydminster City Schools, September 29, 1967.

ratio is about 53 percent Alberta students and 47 percent Saskatchewan students.⁴

TABLE XXIV
LLOYDMINSTER: PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT
1966-67

Grades	Province of Residence	
	No. of Alberta Students	No. of Saskatchewan Students
1-6	607	503
7-9	251	229
10-12	171	193
Total	1,029	925

Source:

Pers. Comm. with Mr. J.J. Giesbrecht,
Superintendent, Lloydminster City Schools, September
29, 1967.

Each province has its own method of paying grants. The Alberta government pays its grants at four month intervals, while the Province of Saskatchewan contributes semi-annually. The school principals must provide both provinces with complete reports of school activities and student enrollment, which requires duplication of records and time.

Both provinces are also involved in the school building program. This results in duplication of the usual time required to do the initial preparation of the groundwork required to begin a building program.⁵

⁴Loc. cit.

⁵Loc. cit.

School locations are generally selected on the basis of site qualifications rather than provincial preference. These qualifications, in order of priority, are:

1. Proximity to student population
2. Proximity to city utilities
3. Topography and contours of the site
4. Cost.

Although the Lloydminster schools are Saskatchewan oriented academically, its athletic program is oriented to Alberta schools. Originally the Lloydminster athletic program functioned under Saskatchewan regulations, but due to the distances to schools with similar programs, Lloydminster schools had great difficulty in obtaining the athletic competition required. Thus it was decided to orient their athletic program to Alberta schools.⁶ Now the city's schools compete almost exclusively with schools in such Alberta communities as Wainwright and Vermilion.

Other aspects of education are also influenced by the presence of the provincial boundary. One of these is the choice of which University Lloydminster high school graduates are likely to attend. On several occasions during the writer's research, irate parents stated that the control of Lloydminster's educational system by the Saskatchewan Department of Education, had been a handicap in their children's attempt to enroll at the University of Alberta. They argued that the educational standards in the Province of Saskatchewan were regarded as generally

⁶Loc. cit.

inferior to those of Alberta and that therefore their children had difficulty being accepted at Alberta Universities, even though they may have been in the upper ten percent of their class. The Lloydminster Chamber of Commerce, however, adheres to the opposite view, stating that the city's high school graduates have the "advantage" of choosing between the University of Alberta and Saskatchewan, depending on which courses they prefer.⁷ The superintendent of Lloydminster City Schools, Mr. J.J. Giesbrecht, believes that this situation has very little bearing on the acceptance of its high school graduates at either university.⁸ This was confirmed by the University of Alberta Admissions Office. The university generally checks the requirements of the University of Saskatchewan, and if the students meet these requirements they are admitted to the University of Alberta.⁹ At times problems do arise over certain pre-requisites required at the University of Alberta. Alberta high schools, for instance, adopted a two-year biology program, one year before Saskatchewan high schools and Lloydminster students were therefore requested to take an extra biology course at the University of Alberta.¹⁰ Although this problem has been eliminated, similar problems could arise in the future. There is however, a strong incentive for Lloydminster high school graduates to attend the University of Saskatchewan.

⁷Pers. Comm. with Mrs. D.M. Kuehn, Secretary-Manager, Lloydminster Chamber of Commerce, October 24, 1967.

⁸Pers. Comm., J.J. Giesbrecht, op. cit.

⁹Pers. Comm. with University of Alberta Admissions Office, July 31, 1969.

¹⁰Pers. Comm., J.J. Giesbrecht, op. cit.

As Lloydminster is under the jurisdiction of the Saskatchewan Department of Education each deserving student is eligible for a provincial government scholarship in the amount of \$500.00.¹¹

There appears to be very little possibility that Lloydminster's educational facilities will be divided on the basis of provincial origin, even if such a change would be warranted by future population growth.¹² An aspect which has benefitted from the city's location on the provincial boundary is the Annual Agricultural Short Course. The instructors for this course have alternated between the Extension Departments of the University of Alberta and the University of Saskatchewan. This has given it a broader scope and more varied information than if it had been limited to only one of the universities.¹³

MEDICAL SERVICES

The City of Lloydminster is served by a fully equipped, modern 92 bed municipal hospital. The hospital district administered by this hospital consists of the entire City of Lloydminster, a portion of the Alberta County of Vermilion River, all of the Saskatchewan Rural Municipality of Britannia, and half of the Saskatchewan Rural Municipality of Wilton. The formation of this hospital district was approved by complementary Orders-in-Council of both provinces. Since the hospital is located on the Saskatchewan side of the boundary it is under the

¹¹The Lloydminster Times, No. 3264, Vol. 63, August 28, 1968, p. 1.

¹²Pers. Comm., J.J. Giesbrecht, op. cit.

¹³Pers. Comm., D.M. Kuehn, op. cit.

jurisdiction of the government of Saskatchewan health regulations. Lloydminster also has a 50 bed auxiliary (chronic) hospital on the Alberta side of the city, and additional medical care is provided by the Lloydminster Clinic and the local office of the North Battleford Health Unit No. 13. Each sector also has a 50 bed Senior Citizens Home.

Even though the hospital is under the auspices of the Saskatchewan health regulations, both provincial health plans must be observed. There is however, a considerable difference in the cost of the premiums to subscribers of these health plans in the two sectors. This difference in premium costs is shown in Table XXV.

TABLE XXV

LLOYDMINSTER: MEDICAL COSTS
JULY 1, 1967

Alberta					Saskatchewan
	M.S.I.	Blue Cross	Combined	Total Annual Cost	Saskatchewan Health Plan
Single	\$2.00	\$1.90	\$ 3.90	\$ 46.80	\$36.00
2 Persons	\$4.00	\$3.80	\$ 4.00	\$ 93.60	\$72.00
Family	\$5.75	\$5.70	\$11.45	\$137.40	\$72.00

Source:

Pers. Comm. with M.S.I. and Blue Cross Offices, July 14, 1969.
(Assumes that the company paid half the M.S.I. costs).
Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan Pamphlet.

This table shows that in 1967 Saskatchewan residents paid an annual hospitalization tax and medical care premium of \$36.00 for single persons, who were self-supporting, over the age of 18 years, or 21

years if they attended an educational institution. For a married couple, or a family of three or more the total cost was \$72.00. The services available under this plan included most of the services provided by a physician, including medical, surgical, obstetrical, anaesthesia, x-rays and most laboratory service. It did not include cancer, cosmetic plastic surgery, dentistry, ambulance services, and drugs.¹⁴

Similar coverage for Alberta residents was provided under two plans, Medical Services Incorporated (M.S.I.), and Blue Cross, neither of which was government sponsored. The costs of these plans, varied according to the number of group plans available, but most Albertans paid considerably more than their Saskatchewan neighbours.¹⁵

In addition to this Alberta residents of Lloydminster are also required to pay a higher mill rate to compensate for the difference on hospitalization coverage. Both sectors pay a city mill rate of 63 mills for municipal and school costs, but Alberta citizens contribute an additional four mills on an equalized property assessment for an Alberta Provincial Hospital levy, plus a one mill local hospital levy. Saskatchewan residents pay only a three mill local hospital levy.¹⁶

¹⁴Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan Pamphlet.

¹⁵Group rates for M.S.I. were \$4.00 single, \$8.00 double, and \$11.50 for a family. Non-group rates were \$5.00, \$10.00 and \$13.33 respectively. There was no group rate available for Blue Cross subscribers between July 1, 1967 and July 1, 1968. Thus people whose company did not pay half the cost paid an even greater sum than those indicated in Table XXV.

¹⁶Pers. Comm. with His Worship, Mayor E.G. Hudson of Lloydminster, October 5, 1967.

UTILITIES AND SERVICES

Both sides of the city are serviced by the municipally operated water, sanitary sewer and storm sewer facilities. Lloydminster's water supply is obtained from two aquifer wells located at Sandy Beach, 12 miles north of the city. These wells, with a capacity of 600 gallons per minute, are sufficient until the population reaches 20,000 people.¹⁷ The sanitary sewers are installed as a local improvement, which allows for the construction of any extensions without creating a financial burden on the city at large. The sewer system consists of collector and trunk mains (eight to eighteen inches) which carry the sewage to a 24 acre aerobic lagoon, three miles east of the provincial boundary.¹⁸ Storm sewers are installed on a limited basis at various sections of the city. With the topographic elevation sloping from south-west to north-east, the spring run-off from farms and bushlands south-west of the city is directed overland by a system of curbs, gutters, and swales, into catch basins and carried to outfalls.¹⁹ The city tries to distribute construction and installation of new facilities evenly between both sectors, to avoid unnecessary arguments.²⁰

Other utilities such as electrical power and natural gas are privately owned and operated. Lloydminster is the only city in Canada

¹⁷Urban Renewal Study - City of Lloydminster, Makale, Holloway and Associates, Ltd., Edmonton, July, 1968, pp. 40-42.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 42-43.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 44.

²⁰Pers. Comm. with Mr. B. Bowsfield, P. Eng., City of Lloydminster Engineer, November, 1966.

which has an alternate supply of power. At present the city is serviced under a 20 year franchise by Canadian Utilities Limited, from their steam-electric plant at Vermilion. The city also has connections with the Saskatchewan Power Corporation.²¹ All city residents pay the same rate for electric power, but Saskatchewan residents must pay an additional five percent surcharge on the power they consume.²² Natural gas is supplied to all Lloydminster residents at equal rates by the Lloydminster Gas Company from 23 wells located in both provinces.²³

COMMUNICATION

The people of Lloydminster receive most of their local and national news through the local news media, consisting of two weekly newspapers, "The Lloydminster Times" and "The Lloydminster Booster," and C.K.S.A. radio and television. In addition to these agencies, Lloydminster is also served by the Edmonton Journal and the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix. Table XXVI shows the distribution of these two newspapers in Lloydminster.

²¹Pers. Comm., D.M. Kuehn, op. cit.

²²Pers. Comm. with Mr. W.M. Cardiff, Lloydminster, City Clerk, in the summer of 1967.

²³For a more detailed discussion of the Lloydminster Gas Company see the section on Industrial Functions in Chapter V.

TABLE XXVI

DAILY DISTRIBUTION OF THE EDMONTON JOURNAL
AND THE SASKATOON STAR-PHOENIX

	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.
Journal	840	840	840	830	830	930
Star-Phoenix	300	300	300	300	300	325

Source:

Mr. W.W. Sloan, Acme Enterprises (Lloyd) Ltd.,
distributor of both newspapers in Lloydminster, December
6, 1968.

Of the 830 Journals distributed in Lloydminster 231, or 27.8 percent are sold to Saskatchewan subscribers, while 80 or 26.6 percent of the Star-Phoenix editions are delivered to Alberta readers. Thus slightly more than a quarter of the daily distribution of both papers are delivered to subscribers in the other province. Based on the national average of 3.9 persons per household there were 951 and 802 households in the Alberta and Saskatchewan sectors, respectively in 1966.²⁴

Assuming that the distribution of these two newspapers was approximately the same in 1966, the following comparison may be made. Whereas 62.9 percent of Alberta households read the Edmonton Journal, only 27.4 percent of Saskatchewan households read the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix.

Similarly, while 28.8 percent of the households in the Saskatchewan sector subscribed to the Edmonton Journal, only 8.4 percent of the

²⁴"Households and Families: Households by Size". 1966 Census of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa.

households in the Alberta sector received the Star-Phoenix. These statistics show that the impact of the Edmonton Journal, in both sectors of the city, is far more significant than that of the Star-Phoenix.

It was impossible for the writer to apply the Interactance Hypothesis, formulated by J. Ross Mackay for his study of telephone interactions along the Ontario-Quebec boundary, to a similar study in the Lloydminster region.²⁵ All the telephones in the City of Lloydminster are operated by Alberta Government Telephones. As Lloydminster does not have a toll station this function is served by the Town of Vegreville. Consequently, each call through the operator, whether originating in the Alberta or the Saskatchewan sector, is transferred directly to Vegreville and is thereby registered as an outgoing call from Vegreville.²⁶

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

This section is based on the opinions expressed by the residents of Lloydminster on the effects of the provincial boundary on the social functions of the study area. The impact of the boundary on the political voting patterns of the study area has been discussed in Chapter IV and will not be repeated in this section.

Residential Preferences

The results of the questionnaires indicated that a relatively high percentage of the population of Lloydminster had lived in the other sector than that in which they presently resided. Twenty-eight percent

²⁵Mackay, op. cit., pp. 1-8.

²⁶Pers. Comm. with Ken Ferguson, Public Relations Director, Alberta Government Telephones, Edmonton, December 5, 1968.

of the Alberta residents interviewed had previously lived in Saskatchewan, while twenty percent of the Saskatchewan citizens had at one time resided in Alberta. Thus a considerable volume of migration occurs between the two sectors of the city. The following are some of the reasons for moving given by the Alberta residents who came from the Saskatchewan side.

1. My husband thought Alberta was a better province in which to live.

2. Decent housing was scarce in the Saskatchewan sector, and the Alberta side had better facilities such as paved streets and cement sidewalks.

3. I married an Alberta man.

4. We did not want to be subject to compulsory medicare.

The reasons advanced by the Saskatchewan residents who had lived in the Alberta sector were of a similar nature.

1. We did not like the dictatorial policies of the Social Credit Government.

2. I wanted to buy a small holding within the city limits and the only ones available were on the Saskatchewan side.

3. Better medical coverage in view of wife being pregnant.

4. Cheaper housing that we could afford.

An analysis of these answers indicated that the motives for moving, although varying from individual to individual, were always personal. This could be a desire for better medical coverage, better housing facilities, or a more suitable "political climate."

It appears that this situation is more stable at present, perhaps because most of the people who were dissatisfied with the province in which they lived, have already left. Only one Alberta and three Saskatchewan residents showed a willingness to leave their present sector. Most of the reasons which prevent many Alberta and Saskatchewan citizens from leaving their respective sectors have been discussed in other sections of this thesis. For Alberta residents these include, the Saskatchewan provincial sales tax on new houses and automobiles; lower property values and poorer quality of housing in Saskatchewan; dislike for compulsory medicare; satisfaction with Alberta's economic and political situation; and for Saskatchewan residents, better and cheaper medical coverage; a more social conscious government, dislike for Social Credit; and cheaper automobile insurance premiums. The latter aspect has not been discussed previously.

On the basis of a comparison of insurance premiums on two different cars, it appears that the government sponsored automobile insurance premiums of Saskatchewan are considerably cheaper than those charged by the private enterprise firms in Alberta. The first example is based on the writer's 1960 Envoy, four-door sedan, sold about two months prior to the interview. The premium for a policy allowing \$35,000 for personal liability, property damage and passenger hazard, \$100.00 deductible for collision, fire, and theft, was \$93.65 for Alberta and \$80.00 for Saskatchewan. The second comparison concerned the writer's 1966 Valiant 200, four-door sedan. The premium for a policy including \$200,000.00 for personal liability, property damage, and passenger

hazard, \$25.00 deductible for collision, glass, fire and theft, was \$149.00 for Alberta and \$109.00 for Saskatchewan.²⁷

Employment

Chapter V indicated that the presence of the boundary had very little effect upon the place of employment of the people of the study area. This is substantiated by the questionnaire results. Eleven of the 25 Alberta residents worked in Alberta, seven in Saskatchewan, four in both sectors, and three in neither. Similarly, eight Saskatchewan citizens were employed in Saskatchewan, five in Alberta, six in both, and six in neither. On the basis of these figures (including those in Tables XIII and XXI) it appears that a slim majority of the labor force of each sector is employed in their own province, but that a considerable number of people work outside the sector in which they reside, without encountering any major problems.²⁸

Opinion on the Saskatchewan Medicare Plan

The survey clearly showed that a considerable difference of opinion existed between the two sectors of the study area with respect to the public's attitude to the Saskatchewan medicare scheme. In general Alberta residents were very poorly informed on the Saskatchewan medicare plan. Several people had not even heard that such a plan existed. Only ten of the 25 Alberta people interviewed felt the plan

²⁷Pers. Comm. with an agent for G.A. Riome Insurance in Lloydminster, October, 1966.

The Saskatchewan coverage is based on \$50.00 deductible but includes \$4.00 for an operator's license.

²⁸The income tax problem was discussed in Chapter V.

was good, six thought it was bad, and nine had no opinion at all. In comparison, 22 of the Saskatchewan residents questioned endorsed the scheme, while only three opposed it, primarily because of its compulsory aspect. Not a single Saskatchewan resident lacked an opinion. Asked whether they would like to see a similar plan introduced into Alberta, 11 Alberta residents favored such a step while seven opposed it and seven had no opinion. The 22 Saskatchewan citizens which endorsed the plan in their own province all felt that a similar plan would benefit their Alberta neighbors as well.

There seems to be an indication that the provincial boundary has acted as a barrier to the dissemination of information concerning the Saskatchewan medicare plan from the Saskatchewan sector to the Alberta sector. This is undoubtedly a reflection of the fact that people generally disregard, or pay very little attention to, things which do not directly affect them as individuals.

Shopping Habits

There is a definite tendency on the part of people from both sectors to do most of their shopping, particularly for groceries, on the Saskatchewan side of the boundary.²⁹ This is of course primarily due to the fact that the majority of retail outlets are still located on that side of the city. This pattern, as pointed out in Chapter V, is gradually changing, as some of the Saskatchewan merchants are shifting to the Alberta sector of the city. Only three of the 25 Alberta residents questioned shopped primarily in their own sector, eight frequented

²⁹This survey was completed before the I.G.A. store had moved to Alberta.

Saskatchewan firms, and 14 shopped equally on both sides of the city. Saskatchewan residents showed a similar pattern, with only one of the 25 people interviewed shopping mainly in Alberta, while ten solicited Saskatchewan vendors, and 14 distributed their shopping dollars in stores of both sectors.

The fact that Saskatchewan merchants do not collect the sales tax on most consumer goods, appears to have a definite effect upon the shopping public. The threat of the sales tax seems to have less effect upon the shopping habits of the public than most merchants apparently believe. Figures for both sectors show that 80 percent of the people in each sector have not reduced the frequency of their shopping trips in the Saskatchewan sector as a result of the sales tax issue, while 12 percent did reduce their visits to Saskatchewan merchants and eight percent were undecided. Thus, although the majority of shoppers were not influenced by the sales tax problem, the threat of such a tax was sufficiently strong to act as a psychological deterrent to 12 percent of the city's shoppers, in spite of the fact that it was not collected.

A second aspect of the shopping habits of Lloydminster residents, is the strong influence of Edmonton in relation to North Battleford and Saskatoon. This impact is shown in Table XXVII.

TABLE XXVII

EXTERNAL SHOPPING PREFERENCE OF LLOYDMINSTER RESIDENTS

Cities	Province of Residence			
	Alberta		Saskatchewan	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
North Battleford	1	24	1	24
Saskatoon	2	23	1	24
Edmonton	16	9	6	19

Source:

Questionnaire Survey by the author in June of 1967.

There are several reasons why Lloydminster residents from both sectors prefer shopping in Edmonton instead of North Battleford or Saskatoon. Edmonton is three times the size of Saskatoon and therefore offers a larger selection of merchandise. The condition of Highway 16 into Edmonton was in much better shape than Highway 5 into North Battleford and Saskatoon. Edmonton offers a better and greater variety of recreational and cultural activities and facilities for week-end shopping trips. Edmonton has no provincial sales tax either on merchandise, food, or accommodation whereas both North Battleford and Saskatoon do.

Social Circles

Although most people, on both sides, tend to choose their friends from residents of both sectors, a large group of people, particularly in Alberta, confine their acquaintances to people in their own sector.

Sixty percent of the Alberta residents stated that most of their friends lived in the Alberta part of the city. None had very many associates in the Saskatchewan sector, while the remaining 40 percent felt their friends were evenly distributed between both areas of the city.

Saskatchewan residents appeared to have a wider range of associates.

Sixty percent of the people interviewed thought that their friends were evenly distributed on both sides of the provincial boundary, 20 percent associated mainly with people who lived in their own sector, and 20 percent stated that most of their acquaintances resided in the Alberta sector. There is no evidence that people consciously chose their friends and acquaintances from one or the other sector. The choice of friends appears to be the result of two main factors, the person's social or cohort group, and his immediate action space, and the extent to which he shares these with other people.³⁰ There was a tendency for more educated people to have a wider selection of acquaintances.³¹

Political Unification

Residents of both sectors strongly favored the unification of Lloydminster under the jurisdiction of one province. Sixty percent of the Alberta residents interviewed supported such a proposal, while 24 percent opposed it, and 16 percent were undecided. Replies by

³⁰This theory is dealt with more fully by D.R. Reynolds and M.L. McNulty, Political Boundaries, Barrier Effects, and Space Perception, Unpublished paper delivered to Sixty-Third Annual Meeting of the A.A.G., St. Louis, Missouri, April 11-14, 1967.

³¹This is the writer's own conclusion based on his conversations with many residents of Lloydminster.

Saskatchewan residents showed that 52 percent favored such a move, with 36 percent against and 12 percent undecided. Thus after almost 65 years of division there still exists a strong desire for political unification. There is very little chance of such a unification taking place however, as neither of the provinces involved is likely to sanction such a proposal. The only solution appears to be a future unification involving all three prairie provinces, a proposal which has been suggested by various provincial officials on several occasions.

RECREATIONAL AND CULTURAL FUNCTIONS

The influence of the boundary can also be seen in some of the recreational and cultural functions of Lloydminster. Most cultural and recreational activities such as orchestras, community band, drama and music instruction, are co-ordinated by the Lloydminster Recreation Board and are therefore open to residents of both provinces. Similarly churches, lodges, service clubs, societies, associations, community betterment organizations, youth groups, and athletic teams are also open to citizens of both sectors, and are representative of the city rather than of one of the provincial sectors. There are instances, however, where the impact of the boundary can be observed. All three theatres in Lloydminster are located on the Saskatchewan side of the provincial boundary. First impressions led the writer to believe that this must be a direct result of a difference in censorship laws. This, however, was not the case. The Chamber of Commerce explained that since the first theatre was in the Saskatchewan sector, it was more convenient to construct the other two theatres there as well, mainly because the person operating the projector had obtained his license

in Saskatchewan. He was therefore not allowed to operate a projector in Alberta unless he applied for that province's license, in which case he would be required to write an exam.³² This was confirmed by Mr. K.D. Kremer, the Chief Inspector of Theatres for Alberta.³³ Mr. Kremer stated that a person holding a projector license for Saskatchewan would be evaluated, and given credit for his training and experience. He would however, be required to write an examination before he would qualify for an Alberta operator's license. He also stated the building regulations for theatres in Saskatchewan were not as stringent as those in Alberta (e.g. in size of projection room). This may also have had an effect upon the theatre location in Lloydminster.

The Lloydminster Public Library located in the Saskatchewan sector is operated by a local governing board under the auspices of the Saskatchewan Public Libraries Act. It is supported by municipal library rates and grants from both provincial government, city and public subscriptions.³⁴ Most of the other public facilities are constructed on the basis of city investment. This was true for the city's Civic Centre and Arena, the museum, and the swimming pool. Occasionally a municipality extends additional aid in the form of a grant. This occurred when the Saskatchewan Rural Municipality of Wilton promised \$2,000.00 for the new library and when the Alberta

³²Pers. Comm., D.M. Kuehn, op. cit.

³³Pers. Comm. with K.D. Kremer, Chief Inspector of Theatres for Province of Alberta, Edmonton, August 1, 1969.

³⁴Survey of Lloydminster, Industrial Development Branch, Department of Industry and Development, Edmonton, December, 1963, p. 13.

County of Vermilion River contributed to the construction of the swimming pool.³⁵

Lloydminster's location astride the provincial boundary has had a significant psychological impact on the selecting of nick-names for its athletic teams. Its baseball team in the now defunct Western Canada Baseball League was called the Meridians. The Intermediate hockey team is called the Border Kings, and its ladies fastball team has been nicknamed the Borderettes.

MISCELLANEOUS EFFECTS

There are many isolated cases which show the influence of the boundary on the social life of the community. Athletic teams are not the only groups which reflect the boundary's presence in the selection of a name for their organizations. Many industrial and retail firms, the Chamber of Commerce, and City Hall have taken advantage of the city's unique location in choosing a name for their organization. Thus the letterhead on City Hall stationery refers to Lloydminster as "The Border City," while the official seal of the Chamber of Commerce includes a picture of two hands meeting in a handshake of friendship against a background map of the two neighboring provinces in which the city is located. Industrial and retail firms include such names as, Border City Livestock Dealers Ltd., Border City Transit Mix, Border Paint Shop, Border Service Station, or Meridian Printing Company and Meridian Service, as well as many others.

³⁵City of Lloydminster Annexation Hearings Before the Joint Committee of the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, January 25, 1966, pp. 37-42.

Motorists are also affected by the boundary. Not only is there a difference in the car insurance premiums and the sales tax charged on cars purchased by Saskatchewan residents, but a move to the other sector would require motorists to purchase new license plates as well as a new driver's license. Alberta drivers visiting Lloydminster must be careful when making a right-turn on a red light. Saskatchewan regulations do not permit motorists to execute a right-hand turn on a red light following a complete stop, and all the traffic lights in the city are in the Saskatchewan sector.

In former years churches located on the Alberta side performed most of the weddings, as Alberta marriage license restrictions were not as stringent and the waiting period was much shorter.³⁶ Last year the City of Lloydminster hosted a joint meeting of the Alberta and Saskatchewan Synods of the Presbyterian Church of Canada. These Synods generally meet within their own provincial boundaries, but Lloydminster's unique location offered an excellent meeting place for their combined sessions.

An interesting point is the fact that according to the federal postal authorities, all residents of Lloydminster live in the Province of Saskatchewan, as this is where the post office is located. Although officially there is no place called Lloydminster, Alberta, most business and industrial firms, as well as the Chamber of Commerce and City Hall, address their return address as Lloydminster, Saskatchewan-Alberta.

³⁶The Edmonton Journal, Saturday, July 13, 1968, p. 23.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter has been to describe the impact of the provincial boundary on the lives of the people of Lloydminster. On the basis of the evidence presented in this discussion it can be concluded that the boundary has acted both as a barrier to human interactions, as well as a link connecting two areas. On several occasions the boundary has served as an impediment to the flow of ideas and information between the two provincial sectors. This has had a definite influence in the manner in which the residents of the study area perceive their subjective or psychological environment. This is indicated by the contrast in the attitudes of the two sectors towards government sponsored legislation such as medicare and automobile insurance.

In general, however, the boundary exerts very little influence upon the social and cultural interactions of the study area. There may be minor variations in the medical, insurance, and taxation costs of the two sectors, but these are relatively minor. Most people in the study area consider the presence of the boundary to be a general nuisance which must be accepted as part of Lloydminster's history. Some people even feel that the city has benefited from the presence of the boundary, by setting it apart from all other cities in Western Canada.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This has been a study in functional political geography. An attempt was made to analyze, interpret and evaluate the impact of a political phenomenon--the Alberta-Saskatchewan provincial boundary, on the political, economic and social functions of the City of Lloydminster and its surrounding area.

The thesis has concerned itself with four main themes, central to any study by a political geographer on the interrelationships between a political boundary and a cultural landscape.

1. A conscious attempt was made to establish the fact that the Alberta-Saskatchewan provincial boundary is an integral part of the cultural landscape of the study area. Chapter III describes the early settlement of Lloydminster and discusses the factors involved in the origin and location of the boundary, its impact upon the community, and the reluctant acceptance of its presence by the settlers.

2. Chapter V examined the extent to which the different laws and regulations originating in the two provinces affecting the study area, have influenced the economic functions of the Lloydminster region, particularly the existing variations in the agricultural, commercial, and industrial land use patterns. However, in order to determine whether the land use differences observed in the study area were truly the result of the presence of the provincial boundary, it was first

necessary to analyze the physical geography of the study area. This was done in Chapter II.

3. The thesis also discussed the influence of the boundary upon the political and social interactions of the inhabitants of the study area. These interactions were discussed in Chapter IV and Chapter VI.

4. The final aspect, although not discussed in a separate chapter, was referred to on several occasions in the text. It concerned the impact exerted by the boundary upon the policies of the two provincial governments involved. Examples of this influence include the legislation of a special "Lloydminster Charter," and the cautious manner in which the Saskatchewan provincial government has handled the sales tax problem.

The presence of the Alberta-Saskatchewan provincial boundary has had, and still has, a significant impact upon the political, economic and social functions of the study area. As a result of this study several specific conclusions can be made concerning this impact.

1. With the exception of several minor instances, the physical environment has had no important effect upon the existing economic land use patterns of Lloydminster and vicinity.

2. When the Alberta-Saskatchewan provincial boundary was superimposed upon the Village of Lloydminster, the administrative functions of the community were suddenly disrupted. This resulted in much unnecessary duplication of time, effort, and finance, that has hampered effective municipal government ever since, and which even the subsequent political unification of the civic administration could not totally eliminate.

3. The division of the study area into two provincial sectors has resulted in the development of distinct variations in the political

attitudes and voting habits of the population of the respective sectors, particularly in the case of provincial politics.

4. The influence of the boundary on the agricultural landscape is minimal. There are no restrictions on the movement of agricultural products across the boundary. Farmers on both sides grow the same crops and raise the same livestock, but minor variations do exist between the two sectors in the proportion of these products produced.

5. The greatest impact of the provincial boundary is experienced in the commercial functions of the study area. This influence is best illustrated by the problems associated with the assessment of the five percent sales tax by the Government of Saskatchewan, on all consumer goods sold in that province. The imposition of this sales tax, as well as other government regulations, have had an important effect upon the commercial land use pattern of Lloydminster.

6. The laws and regulations of both provinces have also played an important role in shaping the existing industrial land use pattern of the study area.

7. Although the boundary has on several occasions acted as an impediment to the flow of information and ideas between the two provincial sectors, the overall impact of the boundary on the social interactions of the study area has been minimal. There is some evidence that in addition to acting as a barrier, the boundary has at times also served as a "unifying influence," particularly with regards to athletics and other cultural activities.

This thesis has shown that the super-imposition of a political boundary on the cultural landscape of a homogeneous community can lead

to the development of important differences in that landscape. The results clearly indicate that internal boundaries exert a definite impact upon the political, economic and social functions of a border settlement. Unfortunately, the analysis of the impact of internal boundaries on the landscape has been a neglected aspect of political geography. It has been the aim of this thesis to contribute to this limited field of geographic literature on the internal boundary studies by creating a better understanding of the impact of internal boundaries on the physical and human geography of a border landscape. If this study should stimulate other geographers to contribute their efforts to further research in this field, its purpose will have been fulfilled.

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APPENDIX I

The data presented in this survey was not collected as statistical evidence for scientific analysis but to obtain greater human insight into the conditions of the study area. It should be regarded as a pilot project rather than a scientific survey. Research into several sources dealing with social statistics indicated that the percentage return of mail survey questionnaires is relatively low.¹ The reliability of this type of survey is also undermined because the respondents are generally the better educated people with a higher than average income.² Consequently, considering the personal nature of some of the questions, particularly those related to political factors, it was decided that the direct interview method would bring the most reliable results. Realizing that this method would require a considerable amount of time, effort and capital, the size of the citizen's survey was limited to 50 completed questionnaires, 25 from each provincial sector of the study area.³ In order to obtain a fairly representative cross-section of the

¹C.A. Moser, Survey Methods in Social Investigation, London, 1958, pp. 178-179. Moser states that surveys with a response as low as ten percent are not unknown, and that strenuous efforts are usually needed to bring the response rate above 30 or 40 percent.

²Ibid., p. 181, and J.N. Jackson, Surveys for Town and Country Planning, London, 1966, p. 72.

³Both sources quoted above state that quantity can never replace quality and that size alone is not significant. Moser, op. cit., pp. 115-119 and Jackson, op. cit., p. 69. For the purposes of this study where no statistical analysis was to be made it was felt that this number was adequate.

population of the study area each sector was divided into several generalized socio-economic areas. These areas were drawn up on the basis of visual observation in the field of house location, size, condition and date of construction. There is, therefore, the possibility of considerable variation within these areas. A house by house survey would be necessary to give a detailed statistical basis for the socio-economic divisions of Lloydminster.

Dimensions of the Survey

The survey was conducted by personally contacting residents in their own homes. Only persons 21 years of age and over were included in the survey and interviews were limited to one person per household. A total of 87 Lloydminster residents was approached in this manner, 49 in the Saskatchewan sector and 38 in the Alberta sector. Thus only 57.5 percent of the people contacted answered the questionnaires, a low proportion for a door to door survey of this type. There appeared to be several reasons for this non-response by many citizens. Many of them seemed to be what Jackson calls "hard-core" refusers, who never participate in survey interviews,⁴ others were housewives too busy with their housework to be bothered. A considerable number of people thought the writer was a magazine salesman, while a few had only recently moved to Lloydminster and felt they were not familiar enough with the conditions in the study area to comment on the situation. Several people were not at home when the writer called. The total time required for this survey was nine days.

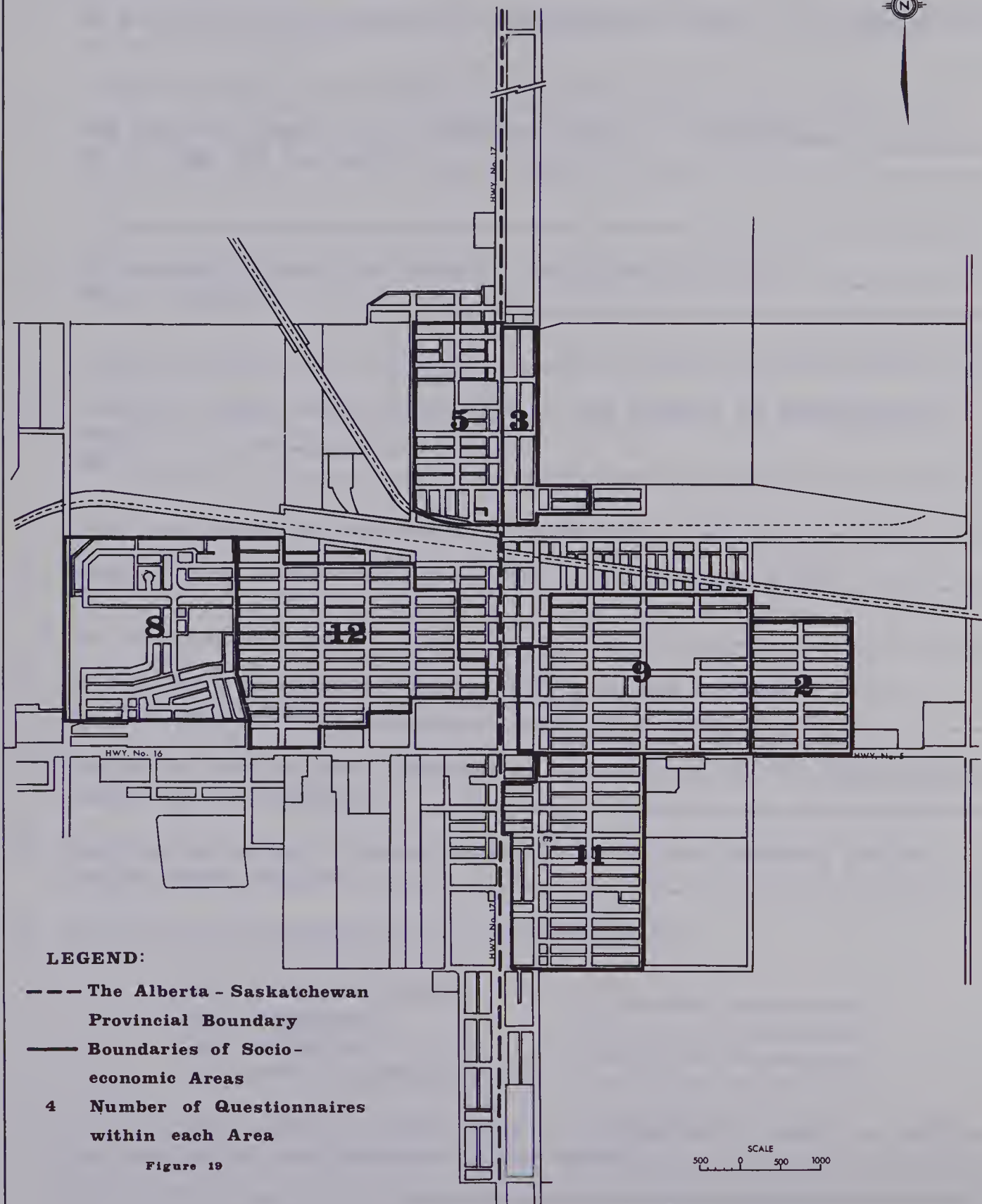
⁴Jackson, op. cit., p. 70.

The agricultural questionnaire survey was completed by personal visits to each farm in the study area. Only those farmers who refused to participate, or those farms where no one was home, were excluded from the survey. The length of this survey was three days.

The two questionnaires directed to the industrial and commercial firms were conducted in much the same manner as the agricultural questionnaire. The larger and most important firms were interviewed first and as many others as time and finances permitted were included later. The size of both these surveys was substantially reduced by the refusal of many firms to participate. The total length of time involved in these surveys was ten days.

Although the procedure involved in these respective surveys may be somewhat unconventional, the writer is convinced that under the circumstances it was the only method he could have employed.

Distribution of Citizens' Survey Questionnaires



SOURCE: ASSOCIATED ENGINEERING SERVICES LTD.

Citizen Questionnaire

Date _____

1. Do you live in the Alberta or Saskatchewan sector of Lloydminster?

2. Did you ever live in the opposing sector of Lloydminster? _____
If so, why did you move? _____

3. If you could, would you move to the opposing sector? _____
Why or why not? _____

4. Does the family wage earner work in the Alberta or Saskatchewan sector? _____
Why? _____

5. What is your opinion of the Saskatchewan medicare plan? _____

6. If you live in Alberta would you like to see a similar plan introduced there? _____
7. Do you do most of your shopping in the Alberta or the Saskatchewan sector of Lloydminster? _____
8. Has the sales tax in Saskatchewan reduced your shopping in the Saskatchewan sector? _____
9. Do you do any shopping on a regular basis in:
 - a) North Battleford _____
 - b) Saskatoon _____
 - c) Edmonton _____
 - d) Other (please specify) _____
10. Do you think that the entire City of Lloydminster should be within the borders of one Province or the other? _____
Why? _____

11. Do most of your friends, acquaintances, business associates, etc. live in the Alberta or Saskatchewan sector? _____
12. What political party did you support in the last provincial election? _____
federal election? _____
13. Would you support the same party if you were living in the opposite sector of Lloydminster? _____
Why or why not? _____

Farm Survey Questionnaire

Date _____

Location _____

1. How much land do you operate? _____
 own? _____
 rent? _____
2. How many years have you farmed this land? _____
3. What is your main crop? _____
4. What is your main livestock? _____
5. Which of these is your most important source of income? _____
 What percent? _____
6. What other crops or livestock do you raise? (In order of value of income).
 a) _____
 b) _____
 c) _____
 d) _____
 e) _____
7. How many acres do you have in:
 a) cropland _____
 b) improved pasture _____
 c) unimproved pasture _____
 d) woodlots _____
 e) other (please specify) _____
8. What is the approximate income from your farm per annum?
 less than \$2,000 _____
 \$2,000 - \$4,000 _____
 \$4,000 - \$6,000 _____
 \$6,000 - \$8,000 _____
 \$8,000 - \$10,000 _____
 \$10,000 - \$12,000 _____
 \$12,000 - \$14,000 _____
 more than \$14,000 _____
9. Do you also receive income from another source? (i.e. part-time job?)
 Yes _____ No _____

10. Where do you buy your: a) farm machinery _____
b) automotive equipment _____
c) bulk fuels _____
d) feed _____

Why? _____

11. Where do you market your produce? _____

Why? _____

12. What political party did you support during the last provincial election? _____ federal election? _____

13. Did you support this party because of their agricultural policy? _____
Any other reasons? _____

14. Would you support the same party if you should move across the provincial boundary? _____ Why or why not? _____

15. Does the provincial boundary have any effect on your farming operations, either directly or indirectly? _____

If so, could you briefly describe how? _____

Commercial Questionnaire

Date _____

Name of firm _____

Type of Business _____

Location _____

1. Where is the head office of your firm located?

- a) Lloydminster _____
- b) Alberta _____
- c) Saskatchewan _____
- d) Other (Please specify) _____

2. When did your firm locate in Lloydminster? _____

3. Why did your firm locate in Lloydminster? _____

4. How long have you been in operation at your present location? _____

5. Has your firm ever been located elsewhere in Lloydminster? _____
If so, why did you change your location? _____

6. Does your firm own or rent these premises? _____
If they are rented, what is the cost? _____

7. Where does your firm obtain the majority of its supplies? What percentage?

- | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| a) Lloydminster | _____ | _____ | ____% |
| b) North Battleford | _____ | _____ | ____% |
| c) Saskatoon | _____ | _____ | ____% |
| d) Edmonton | _____ | _____ | ____% |
| e) Other (please specify) | _____ | _____ | ____% |

8. Do you sell any local products through your retail outlet?
Yes _____ No _____ If so, what amount of your
sales does this represent? _____

9. What is the approximate income of your firm per annum? _____

10. Where does your firm have the largest market for its product? What percentage?

- | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------|-------|---|
| a) Lloydminster | _____ | _____ | % |
| b) North Battleford | _____ | _____ | % |
| c) Saskatoon | _____ | _____ | % |
| d) Edmonton | _____ | _____ | % |
| e) Other (Please specify) | _____ | _____ | % |

11. Do freight charges influence your:

a) Distribution?	_____
b) Assembly?	_____
c) Price?	_____

12. What is your total employment? _____

13. Please give the number of employees in the following income brackets.

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------|
| a) less than \$2,000 | _____ |
| b) \$2,000 - \$4,000 | _____ |
| c) \$4,000 - \$6,000 | _____ |
| d) \$6,000 - \$8,000 | _____ |
| e) \$8,000 - \$10,000 | _____ |
| f) more than \$10,000 | _____ |

14. What number of your employees live in:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| a) Lloydminster | _____ |
| 1. Alberta sector | _____ |
| 2. Saskatchewan | _____ |
| b) Neighbouring towns and villages | _____ |
| 1. In Alberta | _____ |
| 2. In Saskatchewan | _____ |
| c) Farms | _____ |
| 1. In Alberta | _____ |
| 2. In Saskatchewan | _____ |

15. What is your total payroll? _____

16. What is your firm's opinion of the provincial sales tax in Saskatchewan? _____

17. If your firm is located in Saskatchewan, does it collect the required sales tax? Yes _____ No _____
If so, why? _____
If not, why not? _____
18. Do you think that the sales tax has resulted in some of your customers shopping in the Alberta sector? _____
19. Do you think that your firm has gained many customers from the Saskatchewan side who wish to avoid paying the sales tax? _____
20. Would your firm favor the amalgamation of Lloydminster into one province? If not, why not? _____

If so, why? _____
Which province would you prefer? _____
Why? _____
21. Does the provincial boundary have any effect on your business operations, either directly or indirectly? _____ If so, could you briefly describe how? _____

Industrial Questionnaire

Date _____

Name of Firm _____

1. Your firm is engaged in (please check).

- a) Manufacturing _____
- b) Non-Manufacturing _____
- c) Processing _____
- d) Other (please specify) _____

2. When did your firm locate in the Lloydminster area? _____

3. Why did your firm locate in the Lloydminster area? _____

4. How long has your firm been at your present location? _____

5. Has your firm ever been located elsewhere in Lloydminster? _____
If so, why did you change your location? _____

6. Did the presence of the provincial boundary influence your choice of location in any way? (i.e. in the form of economic benefits, tax incentives etc.) _____ If so, how? _____

7. Which of the following physical factors played an important role in the site requirements of your firm?

- a) flat land _____
- b) water supply _____
- c) groundwater level _____
- d) soil or surface material _____
- e) prevailing winds _____
- f) other (please specify) _____

8. Please list the economic site controls in order of priority.

- a) _____
- b) _____
- c) _____
- d) _____
- e) _____

9. Could these conditions be obtained elsewhere in Lloydminster? _____
If so, where? _____
10. Are there any disadvantages in your present location? _____
If so, what are they? a) _____
b) _____
c) _____
11. Could any disadvantages arise in the future? _____
12. What are the principal products of your firm?
a) _____
b) _____
c) _____
d) _____
13. Does your firm use the products of other industries? _____
14. Was proximity to these products important in the selecting of site?
Yes _____ No _____
15. Where does your firm obtain the majority of its machinery and supplies? What percentage?
a) Lloydminster _____ %
b) North Battleford _____ %
c) Saskatoon _____ %
d) Edmonton _____ %
e) Others (please specify) _____ %
_____ %
16. Where does your firm have the largest market for its product? What percentage?
a) Lloydminster _____ %
b) North Battleford _____ %
c) Saskatoon _____ %
d) Edmonton _____ %
e) Others (please specify) _____ %
_____ %

17. Where is the head office of your firm located?

- a) Lloydminster _____
- b) Alberta _____
- c) Saskatchewan _____
- d) Other (please specify) _____

18. How do freight charges influence your firm's

- a) distribution _____
- b) assembly _____
- c) price _____

19. Please state the number of employees your firm employs in, summer _____ and permanently _____.

20. What number of your employees live in

- a) Lloydminster _____
 - 1. Alberta sector _____
 - 2. Saskatchewan sector _____
- b) Neighbouring towns and villages _____
 - 1. In Alberta _____
 - 2. In Saskatchewan _____
- c) Farms _____
 - 1. In Alberta _____
 - 2. In Saskatchewan _____

21. Please give the number of employees in the following income brackets

- a) less than \$2,000 _____
- b) \$2,000 - \$4,000 _____
- c) \$4,000 - \$6,000 _____
- d) \$6,000 - \$8,000 _____
- e) \$8,000 - \$10,000 _____
- f) more than \$10,000 _____

22. What is your firm's total payroll? _____

23. If you could relocate across the provincial boundary would you?
If so, why? _____

If not, why not? _____

24. Does the provincial boundary have any effect on your business either directly or indirectly? _____ If so, could you briefly describe how? _____
- _____
- _____

A Comparative Sample of Consumer Prices in the Two
Sectors of the City of Lloydminster

Name of Establishment _____

Location _____

Meat

1 lb. hamburger _____
 1 lb. pork chops _____
 1 lb. steak (centre
 loin) _____
 1 lb. turkey _____

Vegetables (Fresh)

10 lbs. potatoes _____
 Head of lettuce _____
 1 lb. tomatoes (or box) _____
 Head of cabbage _____

Vegetables (Tin)

1 tin peas _____
 1 tin corn _____
 1 tin beans _____
 1 tin asparagus _____
 1 tin carrots _____

Dairy Products

Quart skimmed milk _____
 Quart 2% milk _____
 Quart homogenized milk _____
 Quart ice cream _____
 Cheese (8 oz. pkg.) _____
 1 lb. butter _____
 1 pint cottage cheese _____
 1 lb. margarine _____

Bakery Products

1 loaf of bread _____
 1 dozen doughnuts _____
 1 package cookies _____

Miscellaneous

1 jar of jam _____
 1 bottle ketchup _____
 10 lbs. sugar _____
 1 lb. coffee _____
 1 carton cigarettes _____
 1 jar peanut butter _____
 1 bottle Crisco _____
 vegetable oil _____
 1 bottle vinegar _____
 10 lbs. flour _____
 (Robin Hood) _____
 1 doz. eggs (small) _____
 (medium) _____
 (large) _____
 1 box soap powder _____
 1 bottle bleach _____

Fruit

1 lb. bananas _____
 1 lb. apples _____
 1 dozen oranges _____
 1 lb. grapes _____

APPENDIX II

SASKATCHEWAN OR ALBERTA?

To the Editor of the "Lloydminster Times."¹

Dear Sir,

The ratepayers of Lloydminster will shortly be asked to record their vote with the view of placing the whole of the town in one or other of the Provinces. This is a matter of vital importance to the owners of property and ratepayers generally, and no one should be influenced merely by political and provincial sentiment. We have come to make this town our future home, and it is the duty of each man for his own personal interest to work for its prosperity. I have carefully considered the advantages of being in either province, and have come to the conclusion that the future of this town will be, to a considerable extent, ruined if placed in Alberta.

I can see no argument in favor of being in Alberta, but in favor of being in Saskatchewan there are the following arguments:-

It is the intention of the Railway Co. and the Government to boom Vermilion, and make that the leading town of the district. The railway company have shown this by placing the lots at Vermilion at some twice the price of those in this town. Besides, in a conversation I had with Mr. Kirby, the townsite agent, he told me it was the intention of the Company to make Vermilion the chief town, and Lloydminster was regarded as secondary. The Government has also shown the same intention, by already making Vermilion the centre of the Licensing Commissioners, and generally it will certainly back up the railway company. Vermilion will also be made the Judicial centre and have the Land Registration office for the new Alberta district or county.

We cannot blame either the Company or the Government. In the ordinary course of things, Vermilion being the divisional point, and being situated in so central a position, will be made the county town of a new district. This makes it the more necessary we should look to our own interests:

The present Battleford district is too large to remain as at present, and a new district or county will be formed, running from the

¹The Lloydminster Times, Vol. 1. (February 6, 1906).

boundary of the Province some 50 or 60 miles east. If Lloydminster is in this district, it will be the county town, having its clerk of the court, the frequent visits of judges for the hearing of criminal and civil matters (thus forming it into a judicial centre), the Land Registration Office, the Licensing Commissioners' Court, and any other appointments that may arise. In this case, if a ratepayer wishes to enter an action, he can do so at an hour's notice instead of waiting to send to Vermilion, at much less cost. At a trial, he and his witnesses will attend court near his own home, instead of incurring the cost of travelling and hotel expenses at Vermilion. In addition, country people will be required to stay during the trial, probably for several days, in Lloydminster, instead of spending considerable moneys in Vermilion. In all dealings with property, the advantage would be immense. Searches would be made, documents would be filed, and many matters performed in a few minutes which would require days at Vermilion. The same thing applies to mechanics' liens, chattel mortgages &c. In this way the loss of hundreds and thousands of dollars may possibly be avoided by searches and promptness in filing, and, in many ways, business would be facilitated, costs would be less and time would be saved.

There is also another matter which should have weight in our decision. It is very desirable that, not only the town, but a considerable part of the adjoining country district, for say ten or twenty miles, should be added to the same province as the town is placed in. Now, if the town goes to Alberta, it is not likely that the farmers to the east will vote to be placed in Alberta knowing that to transact their business they will be required to go to Vermilion instead of to a new town, say Lashburn, which would be the county town of the county shortly to be made in Saskatchewan. On the other hand, if Lloydminster is the county town, it would be to the interests of the farmers for a few miles west of the town to be placed in Saskatchewan in order that their farms may be near a county town. In this way, Lloydminster would have a better chance of not being placed at the extreme boundary of the province. In a parliamentary sense, the advantages are with Saskatchewan. Upon the redistribution of seats for the province, a member of the local House would probably be chosen from this town, whilst in Alberta it is probable Vermilion would obtain that honor. I have heard it said in favor of Alberta that its capital is nearer than that of Saskatchewan. This is of very little importance, our business rarely takes us to the capital as almost all matters between the town and the government are done by correspondence. Besides, it is not certain that the capitals will remain as at present, the appointments being merely provisional. Both Calgary and Saskatoon intend to make a strong fight.

It is undeniable that to have Lloydminster a county town, with its many advantages, is of immense importance. Owners of property, more particularly than others, should carefully consider this fact, as, unquestionably their properties would be of considerably more value in a County town than in a town depending for all its public business upon a town 38 miles distant.

Let us not be influenced by sentiment, but let us look at solid facts and our own interests.

It should be remembered that when once we have made the selection, it is made for ever, and that no change can afterwards be effected. Rather than rush into Alberta, I would prefer remaining as at present for another year until more light is thrown upon the subject, although this, in other ways, would injure the town.

I can foresee that if Lloydminster and Vermilion are in the same Province there will be constant jealousy and unpleasantness. Besides, I, for one, object to play second fiddle to Vermilion. I wish to see our town the leading one in its county and a source of pride to its citizens, and this it can never be if placed in Alberta.

Take my own case, and I am only one of many cases there would be, I should certainly remove to Vermilion for business purposes, if that town be made the Judicial centre for this town.

Yours truly,

H.C. LISLE.

ALBERTA OR SASKATCHEWAN?

To the Editor of the "Lloydminster Times."²

Dear Sir,

In your letter of February 6th, there appears a letter above the signature of H.C. Lisle, in which that gentleman states that the placing of the whole of Lloydminster in one or other of the Provinces will shortly be decided by plebiscite, and advocating that Saskatchewan be chosen.

For two reasons it is difficult to believe that such plebiscite is contemplated: First, We have an up-to-date and capable newspaper, devoted to the interests of the whole colony; and we have reason to be confident that if any change were contemplated, it would, long ago, have appeared in the interesting news columns, and would have been treated in the trenchant editorials of that journal. Second, It is hardly credible that the people of either province would submit the adjusting of any part of their limits to a colony of new-comers such as we are.

But, if we assume that the concession and acquisition of territory is not of sufficient importance to receive any more notice from the august "Times" than a casual letter to the editor can give; and that the people of the new provinces have not yet realized their responsibilities, we may have reason to be grateful to Mr. Lisle for giving us timely warning, even if we cannot agree with any of his advocacy.

Mr. Lisle can see no argument in favor of being in Alberta; but I think I can, with your kind permission, show him that there is less argument in favor of being in Saskatchewan. The town of Vermilion was brought into existence in order to make it the chief town of the Vermilion district, and, for a similar reason, if at any time it will be decided to divide the Battleford district, a site more convenient than Lloydminster will be chosen for chief town.

There are more reasons than that of being a boundary town why those who at present manipulate the administration at Ottawa, Regina and Edmonton should not allow Lloydminster to become the political centre of a district. Besides being newcomers who have not yet served our probation in the country, the majority of us belong to that predominant partner in the United Kingdom who has refused to concede provincial rights to our co-partners, and it is but natural that the champions of free democracy would view with distrust representatives of a majority that took advantage of a diplomatic suzerainty to interfere with the

²The Lloydminster Times, Vol. 1. (February 20, 1906).

internal affairs of a small republic, and that denies to Ireland the right of having a provincial parliament. Those of your readers who take interest in both sides of Canadian politics will surely agree with me when they recall why Manitoba says she is being slighted, and why Haultain had been ignored.

As there is no chance of Lloydminster becoming a district town on either side of the interprovincial boundary, and as the natural tendency is to extend westward, Alberta has an interest in the future of our town that Saskatchewan cannot pretend to. Lloydminster may become a great commercial centre, the emporium of the Vermilion district of Alberta, it being on the line towards the market. The same natural tendency will lead people East of the boundary to a centre further East. It would certainly be convenient to have the town in one province, but that is no reason why any of the surrounding district should be included. Place Lloydminster in Alberta and let it grow towards the province in which it is placed and which it serves.

Political and provincial sentiment will certainly have due influence in forming our decision. Blind patriotism is surely the greatest crime of humanity, but the true sentiment that does not covet an acre of territory or an opportunity to dominate is the collective result of individual self respect, and any desire to eliminate this as a factor in the exercise of our suffrage is worthy of those who are slaves to the crime. I cannot imagine how any one west of the fourth meridian could wish to be transferred to Saskatchewan with its purely agricultural interests. The laws and administration of Alberta will be directed towards furthering the interests of mixed farming, an industry for which this district is admirably adapted. The province has also unlimited possibilities arising from its mineral wealth and consequent industries. In short, its prospects are brighter than those of Saskatchewan. The 110th degree of W. longitude was chosen by the farmers of the Autonomy Bills to mark the division of the provinces, as it is the line where approximately their interests divide. Are we who have interests in common with Alberta to subserviate in a mere case of dice our interests to those of Saskatchewan? It would be penny wise and pound foolish at best.

Yours truly,

I.O.

APPENDIX III

AN URBAN AND RURAL BREAKDOWN OF THE PROVINCIAL ELECTION RETURNS FOR THE STUDY AREA 1944-1967

	ALBERTA*					SASKATCHEWAN					Total Numer- ical Vote
	% vote for each Political Party				Total Numer- ical Vote	Yr.	% vote for each Political Party				
	Lib.	Prog. Con.	C.C.F. N.D.P.	S.C.			Lib.	Prog. Con.	C.C.F. N.D.P.	S.C.	
Urban						1	46.3		53.7		322
Rural						9	28.1		71.9		146
Total						4	40.6		59.4		468
Urban						1	18.7		41.4	39.9	630
Rural						9	33.3		43.2	23.5	183
Total						4	22.0		41.8	36.2	813
Urban						8	21.8		62.1	16.1	729
Rural						1	27.8		59.6	12.6	198
Total						5	23.1		61.6	15.3	927
Urban						2	21.4		51.2	27.4	658
Rural						1	22.1		57.5	20.4	167
Total						9	21.6		52.5	25.9	825
Urban	8.3	18.8		72.9		1	22.6	18.2	42.7	16.5	721
Rural	5.3	21.0		73.7		9	29.8	14.6	45.0	10.6	171
Total	8.0	19.0		73.0		0	24.0	17.5	43.2	15.3	892

APPENDIX III (continued)

	% vote for each Political Party				Total Numerical Vote	Yr.	Yr.	% vote for each Political Party				Total Numerical Vote
	Lib.	Prog. Con.	C.C.F. N.D.P.	S.C.				Lib.	Prog. Con.	C.C.F. N.D.P.	S.C.	
Urban	15.8	}	7.9	76.3	1,223	1	1	29.7	23.1	47.2		918
Rural	27.3		6.6	66.1	121	9	9	27.5	24.2	48.3		211
Total	16.8		7.8	75.4	1,344	6	6	29.3	23.3	47.4		1,129
Urban	7.3	14.5	10.1	68.1	1,470	1	1	33.7	17.7	46.1	2.5	1,354
Rural	7.5	6.5	14.0	72.0	107	9	9	29.8	12.3	53.5	4.4	228
Total	7.3	13.9	10.4	68.4	1,577	6	7	33.1	16.9	47.2	2.8	1,582

Sources:

Statement of Vote for the Electoral Division of Alexandra, 1959, 1963, 1967.
Statement of Vote for the Electoral Division of Cut Knife Saskatchewan Provincial
Elections of 1944, 1948, 1952, 1956, 1969, 1964, 1967.

*There are no detailed voting statistics available for the two constituencies until the 1944 provincial election in Saskatchewan and the 1959 provincial election in Alberta.

AN URBAN AND RURAL BREAKDOWN OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION
RETURNS FOR THE STUDY AREA
1908-1965

	ALBERTA							SASKATCHEWAN						Total Numer- ical Vote
	% vote for each Political Party							% vote for each Political Party						
	Lib.	Cons. & Prog. Cons.	C.C.F. & N.D.P.	S.C.	Others	Total Numer- ical Vote		Lib.	Cons. & Prog. Cons.	C.C.F. & N.D.P.	S.C.	Others		
Political Parties							Yr.							
Urban	39.3	60.7				89	19	54.3	45.7				81	
Rural	38.9	61.1				36	0	51.0	49.0				145	
Total	39.2	60.8				125	8	52.2	47.8				226	
Urban	39.4	39.4			Ind.	104	19	47.7	52.3				107	
Rural	20.0	32.2			21.2	90	1	71.0	29.0				114	
Total	30.4	36.1			47.8	194	1	59.7	40.3				221	
Urban*	(O)	(G)			33.5		1	(O)	(G)					
Rural	12.0	88.0				133	19	8.7	91.3				195	
Total	20.0	80.0				55	1	14.3	85.7				77	
Urban	14.4	85.6				188	7	10.3	89.7				272	
Rural	4.0	9.5			(P)	223	19	23.0	77.0				244	
Total	1.7	4.1			86.5	172	2	2.9	97.1				140	
Urban	3.0	7.1			89.9	395	1	15.6	84.4			(P)	384	
Rural	28.0	23.1			(P)	225	19	33.3	50.9			15.8	291	
Total	6.9	4.9			48.9	114	2	14.8	21.8			63.4	101	
Urban	19.8	16.0			88.2	369	5	28.6	43.4			28.0	392	
Rural					64.2		19	27.2	38.9			(P)	261	
Total		29.2			(U.F.A.)	219	2	12.5	8.8			33.9	136	
Urban		7.6			70.8	144	6	22.2	28.4			78.7	397	
Rural		20.7			92.4							49.4		
Total					79.3	363								

Political Parties	% vote for each Political Party					Total Numerical Vote	Yr.	% vote for each Political Party					Total Numerical Vote
	Lib.	Cons. & Prog. Cons.	C.C.F. & N.D.P.	S.C.	Others (U.F.A.)			Lib.	Cons. & Prog. Cons.	C.C.F. & N.D.P.	S.C.	Others (F)	
Urban		43.2			(U.F.A.)	285	1	20.5	64.8				409
Rural		13.7			56.8	211	9	19.4	29.0			14.7	186
Total		30.6			86.3	496	30	20.2	53.6			51.6	595
Urban	10.1	17.2	24.0	48.7		396	1	31.9	23.7	15.2	29.2		401
Rural	6.0	3.0	42.9	48.1		133	9	22.6	15.6	31.6	30.2		412
Total	9.1	13.6	28.7	48.6		529	35	28.7	20.9	20.9	29.5		613
Urban	30.0		21.4	48.6		383	1	53.2		13.0	33.8		402
Rural	12.6		24.4	63.0		119	9	34.0		29.6	36.4		203
Total	25.9		22.1	52.0		502	40	46.8		18.5	34.7		605
Urban	8.9	10.0	16.1	63.3	1.7	360	1	15.2	19.8	29.7	35.3		408
Rural	7.8	9.8	17.7	54.9	9.8	102	9	15.6	24.7	52.6	7.1		154
Total	8.6	10.0	16.4	61.5	3.5	462	5	15.3	21.2	35.9	27.6		562
Urban	26.4		10.4	63.2		641	1	42.1	21.3	36.6			691
Rural	13.2		11.3	75.5		106	9	48.6	9.9	41.5			212
Total	24.5		10.6	64.9		747	9	43.6	18.6	37.8			903
Urban	16.4	7.0	19.5	65.4	1.7	813	1	40.6	13.5	45.9			724
Rural	5.2	1.0	10.4	77.1	6.3	96	9	10.8	37.6	51.6			93
Total	15.2	6.4	9.6	66.6	2.2	909	53	40.3	13.2	46.5			817
Urban	21.0	26.1	9.3	43.6		1,269	1	16.2	36.9	29.9	16.9		1,069
Rural	7.3	22.0	0.9	69.7		109	9	14.3	30.9	38.9	15.9		126
Total	20.0	25.8	8.6	45.6		1,378	57	16.0	36.3	30.9	16.8		1,195

Political Parties	% vote for each Political Party					Total Numerical Vote	Yr.	% vote for each Political Party					Total Numerical Vote
	Lib.	Cons. & Prog. Cons.	C.C.F. & N.D.P.	S.C.	Others			Lib.	Cons. & Prog. Cons.	C.C.F. & N.D.P.	S.C.	Others	
Urban	6.8	66.3	6.8	20.1		1,387	1	8.2	73.6	18.2		1,140	
Rural	1.7	55.7	0.0	42.6		61	9	6.0	70.0	24.0		146	
Total	6.6	65.9	6.4	21.1		1,448	8	7.9	73.2	18.9		1,286	
Urban	12.7	54.1	7.0	26.2		1,338	1	19.5	59.3	21.2		1,096	
Rural	8.6	52.4	4.5	34.5		313	9	8.5	74.6	16.9		236	
Total	11.9	53.8	6.5	27.8		1,651	6	17.6	62.0	20.4		1,332	
Urban	12.9	63.3	6.3	17.5		1,488	1	13.2	66.8	13.6	6.4	1,224	
Rural	6.5	69.7	6.0	17.8		370	9	6.3	73.3	12.4	8.0	225	
Total	11.6	64.6	6.2	17.6		1,858	6	12.1	67.8	13.5	6.6	1,449	
Urban	16.8	50.8	10.4	22.0		1,467	1	16.7	51.7	31.6		1,147	
Rural	7.6	58.3	10.9	23.2		384	9	10.4	54.7	34.9		212	
Total	14.9	52.3	10.5	22.3		1,851	6	15.7	52.2	32.1		1,359	

Source:

General Election Returns for the House of Commons, 1908-1965, Chief Electoral Officer, Ottawa.

* No party affiliation for the election of 1917.

"O" signifies opposition.

"G" signifies government (coalition).

"p" signifies Progressive Party.

"U.F.A." signifies United Farmers of Alberta.

"F" signifies Farmer Party

APPENDIX IV

CHANGES IN THE AGRICULTURAL LAND USE
OF THE LLOYDMINSTER AREA
1956-1961

	1956		1961		Change	
	Acres	%	Acres	%	Acres	%
Total Farm Land	2,258,396	100+	2,307,549	100.0	+49,153	+ 2.2
Improved Land	1,224,666	54.2	1,295,378	56.1	+70,712	+ 5.8
Unimproved Land	1,033,730	45.8	1,012,171	43.9	-21,559	- 2.1
Improved Land	1,224,666	100.0	1,295,378	100.0	+49,153	+ 2.2
Under Crop	765,236	62.5	776,585	59.9	+11,349	+ 1.5
Summer Fallow	394,425	32.2	435,537	33.6	+41,112	+ 10.4
Pasture	41,067	3.4	57,751	4.5	+16,684	+ 40.6
Other	23,938	1.9	25,505	2.0	+ 1,567	+ 6.5
Total Crops	765,236	100.0	776,585	100.0	+49,153	+ 2.2
Wheat	305,428	39.9	356,451	45.8	+51,023	+ 16.7
Oats	191,349	25.0	149,032	19.2	-42,317	- 22.1
Barley	175,035	22.9	82,023	10.6	-93,012	- 53.1
Rye	4,446	0.6	5,336	0.7	+ 890	+ 20.0
Rapeseed	-----	0.0	37,931	4.9	+37,931	+100.0
Tame Hay	48,113	6.3	78,138	10.1	+30,025	+ 62.4
Potatoes	557	.1	285	0.0	- 272	- 48.3
Others		5.2		8.7		

APPENDIX IV (continued)

	1956		1961		Change	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Livestock						
Cattle	114,141		140,731		+26,590	+ 23.3
Dairy	8,511		8,847		+ 336	+ 3.9
Beef	105,630		131,884		+26,254	+ 24.9
Pigs	46,366		50,630		+ 4,264	+ 9.2
Sheep	6,040		10,268		+ 4,228	+ 70.0
Horses	9,233		6,908		- 2,325	- 25.2
Population on Farms	14,392		12,128		- 2,264	- 15.7
Number of Farms	3,682		3,294		- 388	- 10.5
Average no. of people per farm	3.91		3.68		- 0.23	- 5.9
	1956		1961		Increase Decrease	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total Operators	3,682		3,294		- 388	- 10.5
Owner	2,050	55.7	1,724	52.4	- 326	- 15.9
Manager	13	0.4	8	0.2	- 5	- 38.5
Tenant	311	8.4	205	6.2	- 106	- 34.1
Part Owner						
Part Tenant	1,308	35.5	1,357	41.2	+ 49	+ .4

APPENDIX IV (continued)

	1956		1961		Increase Decrease	
	Acres	%	Acres	%	Acres	%
Size of Farms (in acres) All Farms	3,682		3,294		-	- 10.5
	2,135	58.0	1,637	39.7	-	- 23.3
	1,148	31.2	1,135	34.5	-	- 1.1
	347	9.4	453	13.8	+	31.1
	52	1.4	69	2.1	+	32.7
Average Size of Farm	614.3		702.7		+	+ 14.4
All farms reporting elec. power	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
	2,000		2,450		+	+ 22.5
Farm Machinery Automobiles Trucks Tractors Grain Combines	2,201		2,453		+	+ 11.4
	2,644		3,026		+	+ 14.4
	4,335		4,559		+	+ 5.2
	1,752		2,012		+	+ 14.8

Source:

"Agriculture". Census of Canada, 1956, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Tables 15, 16, 17.
 "Agriculture". Census of Canada, 1961, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Tables 28, 29, 30.

These statistics relate to the area comprised of Census Sub-division 71 (Alberta Census Div. 10) known as County of Vermilion River 71, and Census Sub-division 471, 472, 501 and 502 (Saskatchewan Census Div. 17) consisting of the Rural Municipalities of Eldon, Wilton, Frenchman Butte, and Britannia respectively. Prior to 1951 Census Sub-divisions were different and 1966 agricultural statistics were not available at the time of writing.

APPENDIX V

A COMPARISON OF THE CHANGES IN THE AGRICULTURAL LAND USE PATTERNS ON THE ALBERTA
AND SASKATCHEWAN SIDES OF THE PROVINCIAL BOUNDARY IN THE LLOYDMINSTER AREA

	Alberta						Saskatchewan					
	1956		1961		Change		1956		1961		Change	
	Acres	%	Acres	%	Acres	%	Acres	%	Acres	%	Acres	%
Total Farm Land	1,204,001		1,210,380		+ 6,379	+ 0.5	1,054,395		1,097,169		+42,774	+ 4.1
Improved Land	655,202	54.4	694,073	57.3	+38,871	+ 5.9	569,464		601,305	54.8	+31,841	+ 5.6
Crop Land	421,691	64.4	430,514	62.0	+ 8,823	+ 2.1	343,545	60.3	346,071	57.6	+ 2,526	+ 0.7
Wheat	149,764	35.5	190,416	44.2	+40,652	+ 27.1	155,664	45.3	166,035	48.0	+10,371	+ 6.7
Oats	104,085	24.7	88,207	20.5	-15,878	- 15.3	87,264	25.4	60,825	17.6	-26,439	- 30.3
Barley	106,190	25.2	50,953	11.8	-55,237	- 52.0	68,845	20.0	31,070	9.0	-37,775	- 54.9
Rye	1,509	0.4	2,536	0.6	+ 1,027	+ 68.1	2,937	0.9	2,800	0.8	- 137	- 4.7
Rapeseed	-----	----	11,157	2.6	+11,157	+100.0	-----	----	26,774	7.7	+26,774	+100.0
Pasture Land	24,076	3.7	34,878	5.0	+10,802	+ 44.9	16,991	3.0	22,873	3.7	+ 5,882	+ 34.6
Average Farm Size	602.60		676.9		+ 74.3	+ 12.3	626.1		728.5		+ 102.4	+ 16.4

APPENDIX V (continued)

	1956		1961		Change		1956		1961		Change	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Livestock												
Cattle	67,852		83,454		+15,602	+ 23.0	46,289		57,277		+10,988	+ 23.7
Pigs	30,240		35,657		+ 5,417	+ 17.9	16,126		14,973		- 1,153	- 7.1
Sheep	3,296		6,559		+ 3,263	+ 99.0	2,744		3,709		+ 965	+ 35.2
Farm Population	8,014		6,859		- 1,155	- 14.4	6,378		5,269		- 1,109	- 17.4
Number of Farms	1,998		1,788		- 210	- 10.6	1,684		1,506		- 178	- 10.6
Mechanization												
Tractors	2,394	119.8	2,525	141.2	+ 131	+ 5.5	1,941	115.3	2,034	135.1	+ 93	+ 4.8
Grain Combines	910	45.5	1,076	60.2	+ 166	+ 18.2	842	50.0	936	62.2	+ 94	+ 11.2

Source:

"Agriculture". Census of Canada, 1956, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Tables 15, 16, 17.
 "Agriculture". Census of Canada, 1961, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Tables 28, 29, 30.

APPENDIX VI

Even though many settlements, ranging widely in size, are located on both international and internal state boundaries in various parts of the world, Lloydminster appears to be unique. To the best of the writer's knowledge it is the only city located on a boundary which is administered as a single civic unit. In all the cases cited below, whether the settlements have the same name or not, the communities are administered by two separate councils.

International Boundaries

There are few examples of international boundaries dividing large individual communities. Berlin and Jerusalem (prior to the war of 1967) are the only two which come to mind. There are numerous cases however, of international boundaries separating two immediately adjacent settlements. Examples in this category are Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario and Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, Coutts, Alberta and Sweetgrass, Montana, North Portal, Saskatchewan, and Portal, North Dakota, and Laredo, Texas and Neuvo Laredo, Mexico. In addition to these types of divided settlements there are also examples of enclaves (territories of one country entirely surrounded by the territory of another). Perhaps the best example of this type of situation is that of Baarle-Nassau and Baarle-Hertog in the Dutch province of Noord Brabant. Although basically one village Baarle-Hertog is a Belgian enclave

administered by Belgian authorities.¹ Finally there are occasions when major cities have been cut off from their hinterland by changes in boundary functions or by the creation of an entirely new boundary. Singapore² and Hamburg serve as respective examples.

Internal Boundaries

Examples of individual settlements being divided by a country's internal boundaries are more common than those on international boundaries. Included in this group are the cities of Bristol on the Tennessee-Virginia boundary, Kansas City on the Kansas-Missouri boundary, and Texarkana on the Texas-Arkansas boundary. There are numerous examples of internal boundaries separating two adjacent communities with different names. These include Fargo-Moorhead on the North Dakota-Minnesota border, Davenport-Moline on the Iowa-Illinois border, and Ottawa-Hull on the Ontario-Quebec provincial boundary.

Although the effects exerted by international boundaries on divided settlements can be similar to the influence of internal boundaries, the wider issues relating to citizenship, language, laws, tariffs and sovereignty, make the impact of international boundaries of much greater significance.

¹G.W.S. Robinson, "Exclaves". Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 40 (1959), pp. 283-295.

The term "enclave" is generally more acceptable in international law than the term "exclave."

²C.A. Fisher, "Malaysia: A Study in the Political Geography of Decolonization". in Essays in Political Geography, C.A. Fisher (ed.), London, 1968, pp. 75-145.

Although Singapore was only part of the Malaysian Federation between 1963 and 1965 it has always depended upon the Malaysian hinterland for a major part of its trade volume.

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